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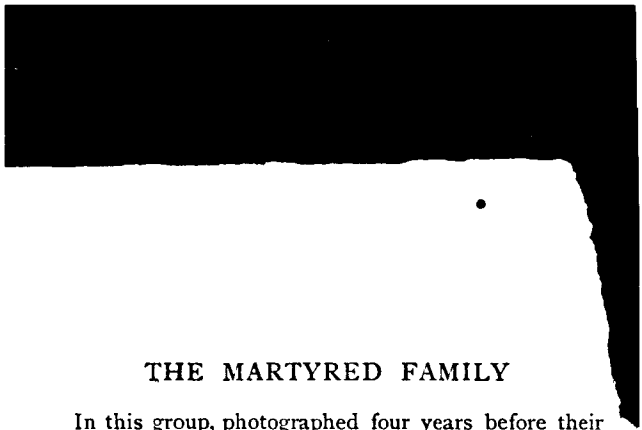
THE LAST DAYS OF THE ROMANOVS

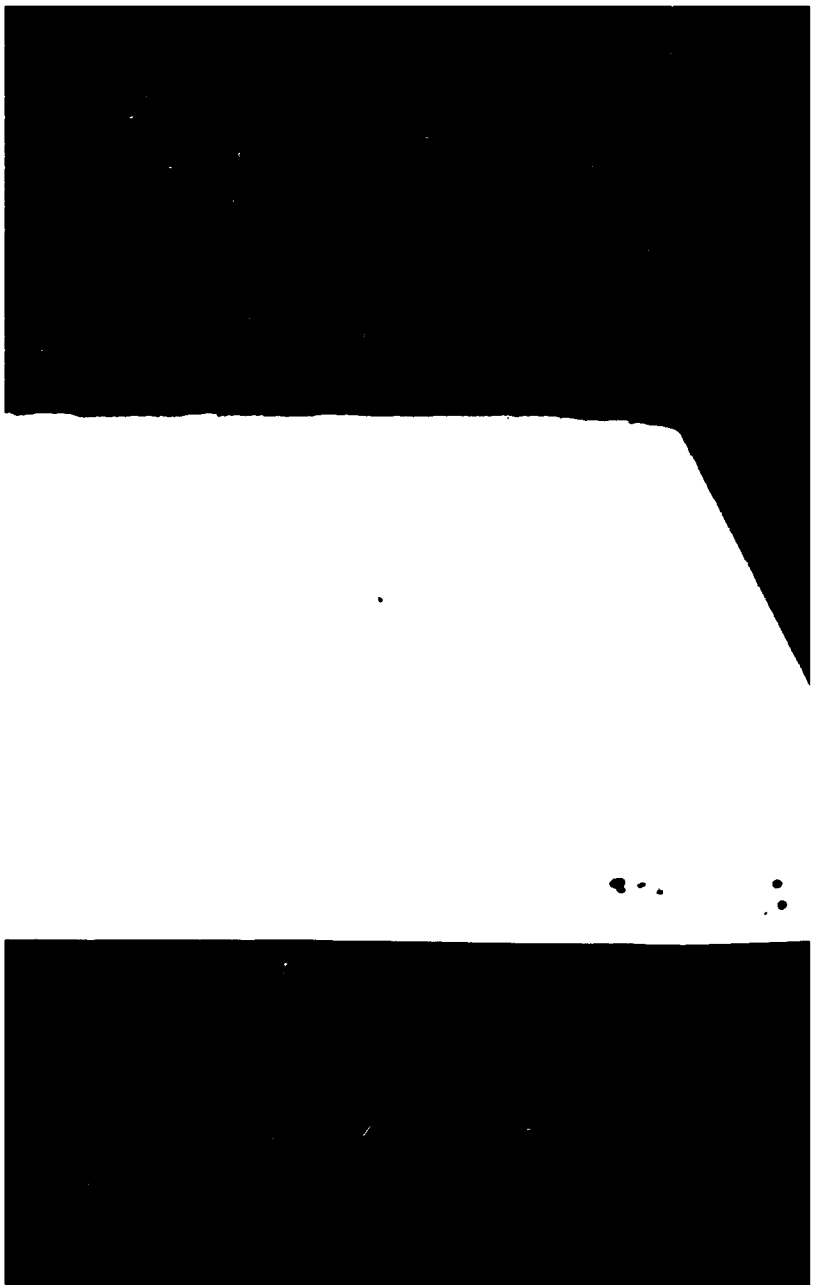
PLATE I

THE MARTYRED FAMILY



THE MARTYRED FAMILY

In this group, photographed four years before their death, the Tsar, Nicholas II., the Tsaritsa Alexandra Feodorovna, and their youngest daughter, the Grand Duchess Anastasia, are seated in the centre; behind them stand (from left to right) the Grand Duchesses Marie, Olga and Tatiana. The Tsarevich Alexis, then ten years old, wears a sailor suit. Nicholas II. is in the uniform of the Fusilier Guards. The mother and daughters have on some of the matchless pearls afterwards stolen from their dead bodies by the murderers.



THE LAST DAYS OF THE ROMANOVS

From 15th March, 1917

Part I—THE NARRATIVE

BY

ROBERT WILTON

Special Correspondent of *The Times*
Author of 'Russia's Agony'

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Part II—THE DEPOSITIONS OF EYE-WITNESSES

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In this group, photographed four years before their death, the Tsar, Nicholas II, the Tsaritsa, Alexandra Feodorovna, and their youngest daughter, the Grand Duchess Anastasia, are seated in the centre; behind them stand (from left to right) the Grand Duchesses Maria, Olga and Tatiana. The Tsarevich Alexis, then ten years old, wears a sailor suit. Nicholas II is in the uniform of the Fusilier Guards. The mother and daughters have on some of the matchless pearls afterwards stolen from their dead bodies by the murderers.

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Just before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, the 'saint' had been stabbed by a peasant girl whom he had wronged, and was being nursed by his wife and daughters at Pokrovskoe (Tobolsk Province). Here he received the only letter that he ever had from Nicholas II, and here he boasted that if he had been in Petrograd at the time, he would have stopped the war. Nicholas and Alexandra had no suspicion that 'Grishka' was a German agent. On this portrait the 'saint' has inscribed some of his pious reflections. 'What of to-morrow? Thou art our Guide, O God. How many Thorny paths in this Life?'

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He organized the murder of the Romanov family, and was killed by Russian workmen.
He wears a short shirt and shabby overcoat.
Bolshevism had ruined the industries of the country.
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AN APPRECIATION AND A FORECAST

What *The Times* says regarding the terrible story of the martyrdom of the Romanovs told by Mr. Robert Wilton :—

NO comment can enhance the poignancy or add to the significance of the tale. Its story illuminates, as no other episode in the ghastly annals of Bolshevism has done, the real nature of the forces that have ruined Russia, and that still hold her in their bloody and tyrannical grip. It makes clear the purpose for which Germany originally sent Lenin and his Jewish confederates into Russia, and shows how thoroughly that purpose was achieved. Incidentally it places the characters of the late Emperor Nicholas and of the Empress Alexandra in a new light, and proves them to have been loyal to the Allies even unto death. It clears them of many foolish and of some foul aspersions, and while it reveals at once their strength and their weakness, their folly and their virtues, brings home to the guilty the guilt for their death.

Whatever trials and convulsions the future may hold in store for the unhappy Russian people before they once more attain to the dignity of ordered nationhood, we believe that the tragic figures of the late Tsar and Tsaritsa will steadily grow in public esteem and will beckon their people on to a recovery of self-respect and of self-control. Before that goal is reached, many a terrible reckoning may have to be paid ; for when a nation awakens to a sense of the degradation into which it has fallen, albeit by its own fault as much as through the evil designs of others, its penitence is rarely limited to a con-

trite confession of its own shortcomings. All Europe, indeed the whole world, is interested in the recovery of Russia, for until there be again a Russia, there can be no true peace in Europe or in Asia. But it is of high importance that Russian convalescence should not be accompanied by further devastating crises, if they can be avoided, or by outbursts of popular wrath, which, by seeking to avenge upon the innocent, or comparatively innocent, the sins of the guilty, might tend once again to alienate from the Russian people the sympathies of civilized humanity. We trust that Our Correspondent's narrative may serve to open eyes hitherto blind, or wilfully closed, to unpalatable truths; and that influences which, by reason of inertia or indifference, have not yet been exercised, may exert themselves to forestall phases in the drama of Russia that might cause even the story we have published to lose, by comparison, something of its horror.

PUBLISHER'S ANNOUNCEMENT

WE owe it to our readers to explain that the contents of the first part of this book were written without knowledge of the existence of the translations contained in the second part.

For 'The Last Days of the Romanovs,' Mr. Robert Wilton wrote the story of their martyrdom—he had unique qualifications—on first-hand information and on the basis of data contained in the dossier in Russian of which he possesses a complete copy.

The translations of Minutes of Evidence (which form the second half of this volume) were published in the United States by M. George Tellberg, ex-Minister of Justice in the Omsk (Kolchak) Government, quite independently. Respecting these depositions, it may be said without fear of exaggeration that never have they been surpassed in their intrinsic interest or in the manner in which they are presented. M. Sokolov, the investigating magistrate who examined the deponents, is evidently a master of his craft.

It will be seen by comparing the two parts that, so far as the depositions here published go, they entirely bear out and give, so to speak, chapter and verse for Mr. Wilton's narrative; and we have every reason for stating that, if and when the rest of the dossier becomes public, similar affirmation will be given to the whole of his thrilling story, which presents clearly, succinctly, a full and absolutely authentic account of this great human tragedy—the greatest perhaps of all time.

CHAPTER I

PROLOGUE

THE true story of the martyrdom of Nicholas II, ex-Tsar of Russia, and of his wife and family can at last be told.

It is based upon evidence obtained by a properly constituted legal investigation. The signed depositions of eye-witnesses are in the writer's possession, but he does not disclose the identity of the deponents who are still in the power of the Soviets—the murderers. The time will come when the guilty will be called to account, but a long while may elapse before the day of retribution dawns. The writer has sought to present the opening for the prosecution, fully confident that the eventual hearing of the evidence before a court of law will substantiate his statement and impose a verdict of ' Guilty.'

At Ekaterinburg, on the night of July 16, 1918, the Imperial Family and their faithful attendants—eleven persons in all—were led into a small room in the house where they had been imprisoned and shot to death with revolvers. There had been no trial of any kind. Before their death the captives were subjected to ill-treatment amounting to horrible torture, mental if not physical. After death the bodies were taken to the woods and completely destroyed. These acts had been premeditated and the murders elaborately prepared.

The actual arrangements for the crime began some weeks before the advent of anti-Bolshevist forces. Neither fear of rescue by the Whites nor plots to release the captives—the

existence of which is doubtful—can be reasonably alleged in extenuation of the slaughter.

The official statement issued by the Moscow Government on July 20—four days afterwards—spoke of the shooting of Nicholas as an act of necessity, but categorically affirmed that the ex-Empress and the children had been conveyed out of the city. These deliberately concocted reports of the safe removal of the family were intended to circumvent any investigation—and did so at first.

It is established beyond doubt that the ex-Tsar fell a victim to his loyalty. He had refused offers from the enemies of Russia's allies proposing that he should endorse the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.[1] Attempts to inveigle him into an unholy alliance undoubtedly preceded the murder. All the Romanovs who died violent deaths were, like the Tsar, inconvenient to German as well as to Internationalist plans.

* * * * *

So many tales have been circulated regarding the fate of the Romanovs, in most cases without the slightest approach to the truth, that I consider myself bound to relate the circumstances which have (1) placed in my possession the complete history and documents of the case ; and (2) imposed upon me a moral obligation to publish the truth to the world.

In March, 1919, returning from Omsk for a short visit to Vladivostok, I met General Diterichs, an old acquaintance, of the Russian Western Armies. After the Revolution he had piloted the Czechs to Siberia and then taken charge of the Uralian Front. By one of the fateful blunders that have marred

[1] Cf. Ludendorff's *War Memoirs*, Vol. II, page 658. 'We could have deposed the Soviet Government, which was thoroughly hostile to us, and given help to other authorities in Russia which were not working against us, but indeed anxious to co-operate with us. This would have been a success of great importance to the general conduct of the war. If some other Government were established in Russia, it would almost certainly have been possible to come to some compromise with it over the Peace of Brest.'

intervention in behalf of Russia he had been superseded by inferior leaders, and was devoting his energies to the investigation of the *Tsarkoe delo* (Tsar case). Knowing Diterichs, I felt sure that, sooner or later, he would again become commander-in-chief of the armies then fighting the Reds with British and Allied assistance. Personal regard and journalistic considerations equally prompted me to follow his fortunes, good or bad. I have not had cause to regret my decision. General Diterichs was found to be indispensable and recalled to his command, when it was too late. From the first he had seen only too clearly the rocks ahead and warned everybody concerned, and he knew that the fate of Koltchak's attempt to restore Russia was sealed. Yet he accepted the leadership. With equal perspicacity he had also long ago realized the enormous importance of the Tsar case. Thanks to his efforts much was accomplished before the Reds, having recaptured the Urals, could obliterate all trace of the crimes committed there. He continued to follow the case even after his appointment as Commander-in-Chief and after the *débâcle*.

On my arrival at Ekaterinburg a month later I met the investigating magistrate who had been specially appointed by the Supreme Ruler (Koltchak) to conduct the inquiry into the Tsar case—Nicholas Alexeievich Sokolov. He had left his home and family in Penza to avoid service under the Reds, and had managed, after innumerable hardships and hairbreadth escapes, to cross, disguised as a peasant, into Siberia. He walked the last 25 miles foodless, his feet one mass of sores and blisters. An ardent sportsman, he had lost an eye through the carelessness of a comrade. He had made a name for himself in the investigation of famous criminal cases. He was relentlesss, tireless, full of resource in the pursuit alike of murderers and beasts of prey. The Tsar case called for the exercise of all the skill that the most genial and courageous of magistrates could display. Sokolov never faltered. It is thanks to him

that an overwhelming mass of evidence has been built up into a structure that cannot be overthrown—that still continues to grow.

At all the centres of interest for the investigation—Ekaterinburg, Perm, Omsk, in field or forest, amid the disused iron mines which hid so many a gruesome record of Bolshevist 'justice'—I was for many months in constant touch with the course of the inquiry, and personally took part in the search for the remains of the victims. Besides Sokolov and Diterichs only two persons signed the more important *procès-verbaux*—I was one of the two.

* * * * *

When the fall of Omsk appeared to be imminent, N. A. Sokolov departed eastward, taking with him all the documents, material clues, etc., which by right could be in no other hands save his. I followed later with General Diterichs, after he had resigned his command, in despair over Koltchak's suicidal decision to defer the evacuation of the city—a decision that entailed the loss of countless lives and the death of the Supreme Ruler. We found Sokolov at Chita, persecuted by the myrmidons of the redoubtable Ataman because they personally desired that the Romanovs should be alive for certain obscure purposes of their own, and therefore wished to get rid of Sokolov for proving the contrary. After many vicissitudes and adventures he reached Harbin, whither I had also made my way, and was joined by General Diterichs.

The ultimate fate of the dossier there had to be decided. On all sides were hostile or doubtful organizations. To leave the originals behind and take away only duplicates was, to say the least, risky. Sokolov's life being in danger he hid the dossier in my car, which had the protection of the British flag. General Lokhvitsky rendered invaluable assistance in bringing about a decision. I must express my feelings of gratitude and personal regard for this very gallant soldier and gentleman,

who here in the midst of a veritable Bedlam preserved his unruffled courtesy and calm just as he had done in the turmoil of battle in France and of disaster in Siberia.

With the knowledge and approval of the three distinguished men above mentioned—representing the Russia that was and that we all hope will be again—I took charge of one dossier, it being understood that, given certain contingencies, I should be free at my own discretion to make use of it in whole or in part. The contingencies have arisen, and I am free. But that is not all. I consider the circumstances of to-day render it an imperative duty to let the Allies and the Russians know the truth. Too many hostile interests are served by deliberately concocted lies and legends regarding the fate of the Romanovs. It is time to let the light of day into this tragic and gruesome history.

* * * * *

When I first came into personal touch with the Tsar case many points were still obscure. I refer to the actual circumstances of the murder itself, not to extraneous aspects—political and international—that were only vaguely hinted at, and that have since attained extraordinary proportions. The confusion then existing was due to two causes: first, to the inexperience of the officials who took charge of the investigation; secondly, to the activity of Bolshevist agents who remained in the city or were concealed among the ranks of the White Administration.

The official version of the events of July 16–17, given out by the Reds before they fled from Ekaterinburg, was that Nicholas Romanov had been executed 'after trial,' but that the family had been removed to 'a safe place.' This legend became engrafted upon the minds of a great many people, and still continues to exercise its luring appeal. Every sympathizer with the Soviets considered himself or herself bound to foster this version, since no Russian, however hostile to the ex-Sove-

reigns, could find the slightest excuse or pretext for 'executing' a whole family of five children who had never taken, or been able to take, the slightest part in politics. The Russians who still belonged to the German 'orientation' were also—curiously enough—disposed to credit any tale of a miraculous escape. They seemed to think that a restoration of the Monarchy—which formed the basis of their political creed—would be furthered by the 'miracle' theory. Some of them had more practical aims, as will be shown later on.

N. A. Sokolov was not deceived for an instant. If, supposing, the family had been removed, their death was, to him, none the less a moral certainty. He had precise information that every other Romanov within Sovietdom had been murdered, although they were just as unconcerned in politics as the boy Alexis and his sisters. But the evidence of eye-witnesses, coupled with and corroborated by countless material proofs, could leave no doubt as to the fact of a wholesale murder at Ekaterinburg. All the efforts of the organizers and the supineness of the earlier investigators could not completely tangle the threads. But it became a harder task to assemble the evidence that would secure a conviction in a court of law.

* * * * *

I visited the house where the victims had lived. It belonged to a certain Ipatiev, a merchant who held the rank of captain in the Engineers. By one of the ironies of Fate he bore the name of the monastery whence the first Romanov sallied to assume the Crown of All the Russias. The Ipatiev of Ekaterinburg was, however, of Jewish origin.

The Engineer Department of the Siberian Army was installed in the upper storey. Directly after the occupation of the city by the Czechs, General Gaida had forcibly taken possession of the premises, despite the vehement protest of the judicial authorities, alarmed by the risk of losing possible clues. The

rooms underwent extensive alterations. This was, of course, a flagrant violation of the most elementary principles of criminal investigation.

The lower floor was tenanted by Ipatiev himself, on the understanding that no strangers should be admitted. The small basement room—the scene of the murders—was sealed up. I saw it a few days later. Sokolov took me over the premises, explaining step by step the enactment of the tragedy. We stood in the little room, noted the trace of the bullets, the direction of the bayonet thrusts, and the splashes of blood on the walls. The room had been a shambles, and all the washing and scouring that, according to the evidence, had followed the murders could not remove tell-tale signs. We knew from the depositions of witnesses and the mute, gruesome language of the death-chamber where each of the victims sat or stood when the assassins fired their revolvers. The bullet-holes in the walls and in the floor had been carefully cut out; human blood had been found in the wood and on the bullets.

Obscene drawings and inscriptions covered the upper walls. Obviously they were the work of uncultured peasants. Their character showed only too clearly how deeply the conscience of the people had been revolted by the Rasputin scandal. There were other inscriptions—in Hebrew, in German, in Magyar. Regarding them I was to learn much at a later date.

* * * * *

Soon afterwards I was in the woods, 10 miles north of the city, where the peasants had found jewellery and other relics of the murdered family. I saw the tracks, still clear, of heavy lorries crashing through the trees to a group of disused iron-ore shafts. All went in one direction, ceasing near a pit round which a vast collection of clues had been discovered; precious stones, pearls, beautiful settings of gold and platinum, some hacked, broken, bearing traces of fire; metal buckles, hooks,

buttons, corset-frames, pieces of charred leather and cloth, a human finger intact, a set of false teeth. The character, condition, and numbers of these various articles were in themselves sufficient to indicate the sex and ages of the victims and the manner in which their bodies had been disposed of.

First on the scene had been the peasants. For three days and nights they were cut off from the city by a cordon of Red Guards placed around the wood. Knowing that the Whites were at hand, they thought the Reds were burying arms. Vague rumours had reached them of the death of Nicholas II. As soon as the cordon had been removed they rushed to the spot. Woodcraft and native astuteness quickly opened their eyes. 'It is the Tsar that they have been burning here,' they declared. On this very spot, a year later, I found topaz beads, such as the young Princesses wore, and other gems, by scratching the surface of the hardened clay surrounding the iron pit.

* * * * *

Led off on a false scent, the earlier investigator had neglected the unerring sagacity of the peasants and had even failed to make an immediate examination of the wood and pits —perhaps afraid to leave the city, because Red bands were reported to be in the neighbourhood. He was following the red-herring trailed by Soviet agents that, to wit, the family had escaped or been removed. These agents did not know the truth themselves. They merely related what they had been instructed to say. The local Soviet had not known the facts. There had been no trial. The murders had been the work of a separate organization which directed everything from a distance. Misled by the versions thus spread, the investigator had lost himself in the maze of conflicting rumour in Ekaterinburg.

When Sokolov took over the case—in the early months of 1919—it was almost at a standstill because of the initial mis-

takes and incapacity of the investigator. Yet evidence had come from another quarter that should have compelled him to take the right course. From one of the Imperial servants who had escaped from a Red shooting squad it became known that several grand dukes and the Grand Duchess Elizabeth had been murdered immediately after the Ekaterinburg shooting, and that some of the bodies had been found in disused iron-pits. In no case had there been any semblance of a trial. It was evident the wholesale extermination of the Romanovs had been pursued, and that all theories of the miraculous survival of the children should be abandoned.

* * * * *

On July 14, 1919, the Bolshevists entered Ekaterinburg, and since then have been in occupation of the Urals. They were able to satisfy themselves that, in spite of all their efforts to mislead justice, the truth about the murder of the ex-Tsar and his family would become known and arouse popular indignation. They then decided to take a course that was quite in keeping with their methods of government, although it may appear to be almost incredible to us, with our notions of truth and justice—to stage a ' fake ' trial of pretended ' murderers ' in order to divert the odium of the crime to other shoulders.

Brazenly ignoring the fact that they themselves had officially ' sentenced ' the Tsar in July, 1918, and recorded his death at the hands of the Soviet at Ekaterinburg, they announce a trial of the ' murderers ' of the Tsar in September, 1919. Twenty-eight ' accused,' we read, were charged with murdering ' the Tsar and the whole family ' in order ' to throw the discredit of the murder upon the Bolshevists,' and some were actually sentenced to death and ' executed.' The Bolshevist organ *Pravda* records this judicial farce, which may or may not have been actually ' performed.' I shall have occasion to deal with it in its appointed place.

CHAPTER II

THE STAGE AND THE ACTORS

SOME idea of the crime of Ekaterinburg is now in the reader's possession; but, in dealing with the evidence in all its aspects, it is necessary to give an account of conditions that prevailed in the country then, and of the chief actors in the drama. The murder of the Tsar and his family, even after his abdication, may not be regarded as a simple act of vengeance or casual precaution.

In 1917, the Germans had sent Lenin with a horde of Jewish revolutionaries to take possession of Russia. A Red Government, composed of persons selected in Berlin, was now in power; but they were vassals. Count Mirbach, representing the suzerain State, figured in Moscow as the virtual ruler, before whom the apostles of Karl Marx bowed the knee. At the period under review, the Reds had displayed no overt disposition to throw off the German yoke. They conformed with all the humiliating clauses of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, dutifully sending the tribute gold to Berlin which had been demanded as 'war indemnity,' plundering the national Exchequer and resources by order of their German masters. Apparently everything was going well with the German plan of 'peaceful' conquest, whatever secret hopes the Red leaders may have nurtured. Instead of a redoubtable foe, Russia was now a willing handmaid.

* * * * *

Ludendorff has related frankly, disingenuously, how simple

and wonderful had been this operation.[1] Not only was Russia out of the war ; the foodstuffs obtained from the Ukraine had literally saved Germany and her allies. Hetman Skoropadsky already ruled the Ukraine for Germany. Krasnov, at the head of the Cossacks, and Alexeiev with the gallant Volunteer army remained neutral. Ludendorff hoped to lure them into his net—a radiant combination that assured dominion over Russia and her vast resources. ' explains why it was not realize.. The German Governmen. was to blame, it appears. There was a divergence of views between Berlin and G.H.Q. The latter considered that the Reds had ' done their work ' ; so the Reds ' must go,' and Krasnov and Alexeiev be diverted

[1] Ludendorff. *War Memories.*

Vol. II, page 509.

' From October, 1917, onwards, Bolshevism in Russia obtained an ever firmer hold.

' I could not doubt that the disintegration of the Russian Army and nation involved an extraordinary risk for Germany and Austria-Hungary. All the greater was my anxiety when I thought of the weakness of our Government and theirs.

' By sending Lenin to Russia our Government had, moreover, assumed a great responsibility. From a military point of view his journey was justified, for Russia had to be laid low. But our Government should have seen to it that we also were not involved in her fall.'

Vol. II, page 654.

' In Russia events had developed along lines of their own, illustrative of the lying propensities of the Soviet Government. With the consent of this Government the Entente had formed Czecho-Slovak units out of Austro-Hungarian prisoners. These were intended to be used against us, and were therefore to be conveyed to France by the Siberian railway. All this was sanctioned by a Government with whom we were at peace, and we actually took it lying down ! At the beginning of June, I wrote to the Imperial Chancellor specially on the subject, and pointed out the dangers which threatened us from the Soviet Government.'

Vol. II, page 656.

' I had got into touch with him (General Krasnov) in order to prevent his joining the Entente. The situation was complicated by the fact that I could not put difficulties in the way of the home Government's pro-Bolshevik policy, of which, of course, I was informed, and Krasnov regarded the Soviet Government, and not the Entente, as his enemy.'

at once from their sympathies with the Entente in order to preclude any possibility of a revival of the Eastern front. For this purpose it was necessary to order the German divisions in the south of Russia to march on Moscow. Ludendorff felt quite sure that even Alexeiev would not be able to resist the temptation to join hands with the enemies of Sovietdom. But the obstinate, slow-witted bureaucrats in Berlin could not adapt themselves to these lightning changes. Ludendorff stormed at them: Were they blind not to see that the Reds were hoodwinking them? Did they want proofs? Were the Czech prisoners of war not proceeding eastward with the avowed object of reinforcing the French army?

This concrete accusation could not be denied. Lenin's organization had promised Professor Masaryk to permit the Czecho-Slovaks to leave the country by way of Siberia provided they went peacefully. It was an easy riddance of possible enemies. The Czechs were proceeding quietly to Vladivostok, carefully abstaining from violence even when sorely tried by the impudence of local Soviets, giving up their arms to bribe the Reds.

Mirbach received instructions to call his Red henchmen to account; at the same time messages were conveyed from the two Kaisers to their warriors imprisoned in Siberia, enjoining upon them the duty of organizing resistance to the 'invaders.' How the German and Magyar officers enrolled Russian convicts and flung themselves athwart the Czech retreat with the energetic concurrence of the Soviets is a matter of history. But the connexion between this circumstance and all that preceded and followed is less known. Ludendorff feared above all the re-establishment of the Eastern front, yet it was Ludendorff and his Government that brought about the very consequences that they least wanted.

Had the Czechs been allowed to depart it is certain that there would have been no military help from the Entente side, and

the chances of seducing the Russian anti-Bolshevist leaders might not have been still-born. As it was, the whole edifice of guile, duplicity, and deceit, raised with such labour and cost, fell to the ground. The murder of Mirbach sounded the call of its collapse.

But at the time when the fate of the Tsar and his family hung in the balance, Germany was absolute mistress of the situation, and, had there been unity of method as well as of purpose between the German High Command and Berlin, the fate of Russia and, perhaps, of the war would have been changed. Berlin wanted to continue to rule Russia through the Soviets under Mirbach; Ludendorff aimed at the overthrow of the Soviets in order to enlist the support of the Cossacks and Volunteers. As might be expected, the conflict between them resulted in a fatal compromise—an attempt to run with the White hare and hunt with the Red hounds.

Ludendorff's plan was to substitute a more agreeable form of government in the place of the Soviets and to modify suitably the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Here we have the key to the removal of Nicholas II from Tobolsk. But all that subsequently happened was conditional upon another set of forces. Sovietdom asserted itself. The working and organization of the Soviets fitted in admirably with German requirements, and incidentally subserved the plans of the murderers. New names, devised to appeal to the fancy of the mob, concealed familiar institutions.

* * * * *

There were three principal bodies—Sovnarkom, Tsik, and Chrezvychaika, these names being abbreviations of *Soviet narodnykh komisarov* (Council of People's Commissaries), *Tsentralny ispolnitelny komitet* (Central Executive Committee), and *Chrezvychainaia komisia dlia borby z kontrrevoliutsiei* (Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-revolution). Under the old *régime* the Duma, the Council of Ministers,

and the Okhrana had occupied the same relative positions. Instead of the former ranks and dignities there were *komisary*, all supposed to be elected, but in reality appointed by an inner and occult body. *Sovdeps* (Councils of Deputies) and *Komitety bednoty* (Poor Commissions) took over the functions of the old zemstvos and municipalities, grouped into regional communes, just as it had been proposed to group the zemstvos according to separate *oblasti* (regions). Sovietdom (in Russian *Sovdepia*) had invented no new forms. It is still in the grip of the Red Okhrana, or Inquisition.

As there was no apparent authority, the local bodies often acted independently; indeed, Lenin encouraged this tendency. *Vlast na mestakh* (every place its own master) was his motto. Lenin did not rule; the Soviet system was governed by other people, the fellow-passengers who came with him under German auspices. He delivered impassioned harangues before the Sovnarkom and received deputations from minor Soviets, the real power was elsewhere—in the Tsik and Chrezvychaika; and, just as it had been in the old Russia, the last word was always with the Police-Okhrana organization.

Mirbach received his daily report from the Chrezvychaika. He was murdered by two men who said they came from that office. Lenin had as much to do with his death as he had with the murders, a week later, of the ex-Tsar and his family. The Red Okhrana and the inner circle of the Tsik were the veritable authors of the crime of Ekaterinburg, and probably of Mirbach's assassination.[1]

Nonentities, figureheads of the Sovnarkom, do not interest us. We are concerned with great, if maleficent, personages in

[1] In *The Times* of July 8, 1918, appeared a wireless from the Moscow Government, issued on the previous night. It is signed 'Lenin' and addressed to 'Joffe' (the Soviet representative), 'Berlin':—

'To-day (*i.e.*, July 7, 1918) at 2 o'clock two unknown men, with false (*sic*) documents from the Extraordinary Commission (Tsik) appeared at the German Embassy and threw a bomb into the apart-

the Red world. Most of them are still unknown outside the ranks of professional revolutionaries. A goodly proportion of the hundred Jews who came out of Germany with Lenin, and the hundreds who came from Chicago, deserve to be included in this gallery, for they undoubtedly held Russia under their sway. To enumerate and describe them would require a small volume. I need sketch only those who act prominently in the drama of Ekaterinburg. The most important were: Sverdlov, Safarov, Voikov and Goloshchekin, and the murderer-in-chief, Yurovsky. Others will be introduced later on.

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The names of Safarov and Voikov figure in the list of Lenin's fellow-passengers. Both are very powerful Bolshevists, holding high places in the executive and police branches. Sverdlov was the uncrowned Tsar of the Soviets. His authority was for more than a year really higher than that of Lenin or even Trotzky. He dominated the Tsik, and his creatures ruled the Chrezvychaika. Sverdlov's name appears in the Bolshevist Government as approved by Germany (Sverdlov was—and long remained—a paid agent of Germany). The direct connexion between Sverdlov and the murders of Ekaterinburg is established beyond doubt.

Goloshchekin was the representative of the above-named conclave in the Regional Soviet of the Urals and kept that

ment of Count Mirbach. Count Mirbach was seriously wounded and died.

'The representatives of the Russian Government paid a visit immediately to the German Embassy and expressed their indignation at this act of political provocation. The Government is taking all necessary steps to discover the murderers, and to hand them over to an Extraordinary Tribunal. Steps were taken to strengthen the guard of the German Embassy and to protect German citizens. . . .

'An extraordinary plenipotentiary will be dispatched to Berlin with the mission of expressing to the German Government our indignation against the criminal act and our sympathy with the German representative who fell a victim to this crime. . . .'

rather recalcitrant body under secret subjection to his chiefs. The Uralian Reds were particularly self-willed and jealous of Moscow because the population consisted almost entirely of miners and metal-workers—a very advanced and independent class, having little in common with the peasant-farmer, for whom they professed contempt. Goloshchekin did whatever Sverdlov wished. A stratagem had given him absolute power. The president of the Regional Soviet was a Russian named Beloborodov. He was arrested by the Chrezvychaika and imprisoned on a charge of appropriating 30,000 roubles. The punishment would be death. Together with Safarov and Voikov, Goloshchekin arranged to release him. Beloborodov resumed the presidency of the Regional Soviet as if nothing had happened. Dishonesty was so rampant among the Komisars that the transition surprised no one. But after that, Beloborodov gave up all attempts to resist Moscow—if he had ever done so. He was henceforth a mere man of straw, kept in his place to deceive the obstreperous Uralian miners, who did not wish to be ruled from Moscow, much less by Jews.

The closest personal bonds had existed for many years between Goloshchekin and Sverdlov. They had been together in prison and exile. Goloshchekin ranked as an internationalist of the most pronounced type. He had been selected for the rulership of the Urals with an eye to other than political activities. He was bloodthirsty in an abnormal degree, even for a Red chieftain. People who knew him at Ekaterinburg describe Goloshchekin as a homicidal sadist. He never attended executions, but insisted upon hearing a detailed account of them. He huddled in bed shivering and quaking till the executioner came with his report, and would listen to his description of tortures with a frenzy of joy, begging for further details, gloating over the expressions, gestures and deathtroes of the victims as they passed before his diseased vision.

Yurovsky had a humbler task; he was not one of the mighty

ones of the Soviet. When the German plan to restore Nicholas as a vassal sovereign had failed, and the Jewish conclave in Moscow was free to carry out its vengeful purpose, Yurovsky was installed as chief jailer and tormentor of the doomed family. The Russian commandant and guards were dismissed, ostensibly because they were pilfering. Magyarized-German soldiers under a Jewish commandant took their places and were able to rob wholesale the unfortunates whom they were supposed to protect.

The origins of Yurovsky have been fully investigated. His parents and relatives—all poor Jews—remained in Siberia after the murderer and his chiefs and accomplices had fled from Ekaterinburg. He had been a watchmaker at Tomsk, scarcely able to make ends meet. Naturally ambitious, he despised the people around him. He was waiting for an opportunity. It came suddenly and mysteriously. Yurovsky disappeared. This was before the war. He is next heard of in Ekaterinburg as a photographic dealer. It leaked out that he had been to Berlin and become possessed of some capital. When war came, he evaded service in the trenches by qualifying as a red-cross assistant (*feldsher*) and remained in Ekaterinburg. When the Bolshevists seized the government, Yurovsky became one of the local agents of the new power.

At a time when he was seeking any and every means of advancement, Yurovsky had been baptized into the Lutheran Church. He used to attend prayers in Ipatiev's house. He even chatted pleasantly with the sick boy Alexis, whom, a few days later, he shot with his own hand.

CHAPTER III

NO ESCAPE: ALEXANDRA MISJUDGED

APART from the bald assertions of parties interested in spreading false reports, there is no evidence of any attempt on the part of the Romanovs to escape from any of their prisons. All the compromising 'documents' produced by Soviet apologists on this subject are transparent fabrications. Loyal Russians wished to save the Tsar from the Soviets, knowing full well the danger of treachery that he incurred, and there were several organizations, working independently, but none ever began putting a plan into execution.

During the captivity at Tobolsk some money reached the family secretly. It helped the prisoners to eke out the starvation allowance ordained by the Soviets. Attempts to render further aid were frustrated by a German-Bolshevist agent stationed at Tiumen. This person, a Russian officer who had married a daughter of Rasputin, ingratiated himself with doubtful travellers for Tobolsk and betrayed them to the Soviet. The Germans had thus taken elaborate precautions not to allow the ex-Tsar to slip out unawares. Perhaps they thought that the Allies of Russia might try to rescue him! At Ekaterinburg nothing could be done. The Reds claim to have intercepted some letters between the captives and conspirators. But it may be pointed out that not a single person was arrested there for conspiracy to help the exiles. Remem-

bering the lavish repressions ever applied by the occult powers of the Chrezvychaika, it will be conceded that they would have missed no opportunity to exert them in such a cause. The British Consul (Mr. Preston), remaining gallantly at his post throughout the Red terror, and rendering incalculable service to the victims of Bolshevist oppression, was unable to do anything to alleviate the sufferings and torture of the Romanovs. Yet, strange to relate, a monarchist organization had its agents in the city. It even succeeded in conveying some food and comforts through the nuns of the local monastery. Beyond that it was unable to go.

There is no evidence to show that at any time during the captivity was any active attempt made to rescue the Romanovs. This applies equally to the ex-Sovereigns and to their kinsmen. At Tobolsk, Ekaterinburg, Perm, and Alapaievsk the pretext for wholesale murder was always the same; an alleged attempt to escape or rescue. And from the testimony of persons who were in daily intercourse with the imprisoned family, it is clear that, had any serious efforts to procure their escape been made, they would have met with no encouragement. Nicholas II repeatedly said that he would not leave Russia; Alexandra hated above everything the idea of going to Germany. At that time Russia offered no sure place of refuge.

The Rasputin propaganda had poisoned the minds of the people, but not all the people. In the villages, among the old folk, feelings of loyalty still held sway, ready at the first signal to assert themselves openly. The volumes of evidence in my possession prove this statement. Many of the witnesses were peasants who, consciously, willingly risked their lives in order that the truth about the fate of the Tsar should be established. Who knows how many of these simple souls have been martyred for their boldness?

Among the obscenities that disfigured the walls of the Ipatiev house, one inscription struck a loyal note. In

uncouth peasant writing and spelling the author—evidently one of the guards—asked how long were the people going to put up with the Komisars, and urged the Tsar to come forward and drive away the horde of usurpers that were ruining the country!

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I cannot help thinking that the Rasputin legend did not suffice to kill the people's faith in the Tsar. It certainly discredited Alexandra, and he shared her disgrace; but that was not enough to account for the virulence of popular clamour against Nicholas II. His fate would not have been so much a matter of indifference to the multitude had the vile story of Rasputin not been preceded by blunders that deeply incensed the popular conscience. I recall the dreadful murder of women and children before the Winter Palace on Bloody Sunday. That crime was prepared by the Okhrana and attributed to the Tsar. It seems to me that had it not been for that hideous slaughter of innocents no one would have ever dared to raise a hand against the Tsar and his children. I wish to be quite fair to the Russians, without in any way extenuating the heinousness of the crime of Ekaterinburg.

The ex-Empress was the object of special hatred. She completely dominated her spouse in the imagination of the people, and occupies a place apart in the evidence. Many new facts have been brought to light substantially modifying the current estimate of her life and character. Several trunks full of papers and effects belonging to his victims were taken by Yurovsky to Moscow after the murder. Sverdlov then announced that all would be published, so that the people should see what manner of persons had ruled them. That promise has not been kept, and for a good reason: the diaries and correspondence of Nicholas and Alexandra contained no hint of treachery. They proved two things—unbounded

loyalty to Russia and to the Allies; and, alas! complete subserviency of Nicholas to his wife. But neither of these matters interested the Soviet leaders, and most of these priceless documents have been suppressed in Moscow. Many others were overlooked or forgotten in Ekaterinburg, and figure in the dossier of the Tsar case. Among them is a collection of Alexandra's letters to her maid-of-honour. There are also the depositions of servitors and members of the household.

Analysing this mass of first-hand evidence, one obtains a true picture of Alexandra. Proud, domineering, self-restrained, gifted, mystical she had been from youth. Her troubles, mental and physical, had distorted these characteristics. Nicholas fell in love with her when she was 15, and waited patiently for her eight years. Even as a girl she dominated him. After their marriage there was never any doubt who was master. Her dominion was not even challenged. Nicholas never acted without his wife's approval, except when he was separated from her—for instance, when he signed the writ of abdication. These were not the best qualifications for Tsardom at a time of transition. Alexandra could not attain popularity, nor would she admit the necessity of it for herself or the Tsar. Indeed, as the years passed she became less and less responsive to the demands and requirements of public opinion, which cannot be defied with impunity even by an autocrat.

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Many Russians attributed these failings to the Hesse disease (*bolezn Gessenskikh*), the hereditary taint that had carried off many of Alexandra's relations.[1] The fact that her only son suffered from and might at any moment die of it only made her own trouble worse. The disease is dangerous to boys and

[1] Hæmophilia, the disease from which the Tsarevich suffered, is as a general rule transmitted through the females to the males. The females do not suffer from it till late in life.

adult women ; girls do not feel its effects till they are grown up, whereas boys become immune after reaching manhood. In the case of women it is apt to prey on the mind, aggravating and intensifying any morbid predisposition. Hysteria in its worst forms is an almost invariable accompaniment. She also suffered intensely from heart trouble. Her life must have been one long agony.

Alexandra was not normal. Her belief in Rasputin indicated as much. The evidence of Dr. Botkin is explicit. People who suffer from hysteria in an acute congenital form repel and estrange all persons that do not blindly accept their domination. Rasputin had to be treated as a saint because Alexandra imagined him to be one. The Court of Russia became peopled with time-servers and nonentities.

* * * * *

I shall deal with Rasputin presently. The new materials in my possession show that he was simply a peasant afflicted with a pathological condition. The legend that has grown up regarding his occult powers can be traced not to Rasputin but to his 'friends.' He was a mere tool. Alexandra wanted him—to cure her son ; others used him for personal or political intrigues because Alexandra, the veritable Autocrat of All the Russias, had need of him. In the tragedy of the Romanovs every thread leads us to this Woman of Destiny.

The very exhaustive records of their life before and after the Revolution give a true presentment of the family, such as no individual could furnish even if he or she had been in the closest intimacy with Nicholas or Alexandra. One is struck by the almost superhuman secretiveness of the ex-Sovereigns. They did not trust anyone completely. Most of the persons who were supposed to be particularly attached to them knew little or nothing of their inner life and thoughts. This explains, perhaps, why so few decided to follow them into exile. Only between themselves does there appear to have been no reserve.

Alexandra's personality is reflected in her family—Nicholas, like herself, an embodiment of all the domestic virtues, religious to the verge of mysticism, expert in dissimulation, never showing anger, perhaps never really feeling angry; incapable of a decision—so utterly had he surrendered himself to his wife; the daughters relegated to the background entirely unprepared to take their proper place in the world; Alexis monopolizing all the care and attention of his mother; the children ashamed of her belief in Rasputin, yet not daring openly to resent it.

Among the Court favourites, male or female, nobody exercised any real influence except in so far as it suited the Empress. Only one person appears to have been admitted for any length of time to the Imperial confidence. That person was Anna Vyrubova. Regarding her, Rasputin used to speak in the crudest terms to the companions of his tavern-revels, who, of course, repeated his drunken boasts. That was the origin of her infamous notoriety. She herself could not have devised a surer way of retaining Alexandra's favour. The detractors of Vyrubova had also dared to retail the foulest stories about Alexandra, alleging the same source. Alexandra rightly considered herself a victim of slander, and naturally included Anna under the same designation.

The fact is, Anna Vyrubova was Rasputin's accomplice—nothing more. She kept him in touch with everything, especially with the boy's health. It was at her house that Rasputin saw the Emperor and Empress when it became too scandalous for him to appear daily in the Palace—after the dismissal of governesses who had raised an outcry against Rasputin's familiarities with their charges.

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Another person deserves mention. It is not positively shown how far his influence was felt, but certainly he played an important part in the Romanov tragedy. He was in many ways a mystery man—a doctor of Tibetan medicine, by birth

a Buriat, named Badmaiev. Besides dispensing nostrums that cured all ills—often bringing relief where modern science had failed—he dabbled in politics, and who knows what dark forces were served by him? Rasputin was one of his best clients. According to Rasputin one could immediately regain all the vigour of youth by swallowing a powder composed of Tibetan herbs; another kind of powder made one quite indifferent to worry. Badmaiev reserved these specifics for people whom he could trust. The first-named kind was for Rasputin, but who was the recipient of the 'dope' that 'made you forget'—who if not the hapless Nicholas? And once it is admissible that the peasant had taken to drugs for specific purposes, one may seriously entertain other accusations against him and his accomplices.

According to indications contained in the evidence, Anna Vyrubova arranged the 'miracles' of healing that Rasputin performed on the sick boy. It was not difficult. The malady always followed the same course. A slight bruise set up internal hemorrhage. The patient suffered terrible pain while the blood flowed, clotted, and finally began to be resorbed. Anna knew from experience how to read the symptoms. Rasputin would come to pray when the crisis was over, so that it should seem as if his intercession had brought relief. Things happened in this way on several known occasions. Rasputin did not wish to lose the Empress's favour. He and Vyrubova took their precautions. And Badmaiev's powders may here also have been used with benefit to all concerned. Alexandra's eyes were never opened to the fact that Rasputin's prayers did not affect the disease.

It will be argued by those who knew Vyrubova that she was too garrulous to keep a secret, too child-like to conceive or carry out any intrigue, and still less any act affecting the Empress in whose hands she was as wax. To have lived for twenty years in the confidence of such a woman as the Empress

presumes the possession of no ordinary faculties, whether of extreme innocence combined with serpent wisdom or of profound guile hidden under an appearance of candour. Vyrubova's apologists would have us believe that she was nothing better than an idiot. The skill with which she crept into the good graces of the Imperial Family, ably seconding all the moves of the practised courtier Taneiev, her father, shows the absurdity of such a theory and sufficiently denotes her real disposition.

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Woman-like, the Empress regarded all things from a personal standpoint. Her malady only served to intensify her likes and dislikes. One of her particular aversions was Wilhelm of Prussia, first because the Hohenzollerns had been exalted at the expense of her own House; secondly because Wilhelm had not counted with her. Germany, ruled by Wilhelm, was ever the foe of Russia ruled by Alexandra. She could not admit the possibility of a compromise or truce with Wilhelm's Germany, any more than she would permit the Tsar to summon a Ministry composed of Rasputin's detractors and enemies. A complete and ludicrous misapprehension prevailed in Russia and among the Allied peoples about the alleged pro-German tendencies of the ex-Empress. She hated Germany with a bitterness and a fervour equalled only by her contempt and loathing for the Russians—always excepting the peasants, whom she 'imagined' to be endowed with all the virtues and qualities that Rasputin was supposed to possess.

Wilhelm was described by her as 'that low comedian' and 'man of falsehood,' who had 'stooped to associate himself with Bolshevists.' With fierce and joyful anticipation, she foresaw his punishment: 'The day will come when they will destroy him!' She did not live to see her vision fulfilled.

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Such was the so-called pro-German Empress. It is easy to

recall the outcry that was raised in Entente countries in the spring of 1917 when it became known that the Romanovs would be permitted to come to England. 'How can we tolerate this friend of Germany in our midst?' The public had been so deeply affected by the Rasputin propaganda, that they would not hear of Alexandra coming to this country. And as the family could not be disunited, they had all to remain in Russia. The ex-Tsar's servants had even prepared his English uniforms. Sorrowfully, without understanding the reason, they obeyed the order to pack them away. Thus, after depriving them of the throne, Rasputin's foul influence took from the Romanovs their hope of an asylum and left them to suffer a shameful death.

CHAPTER IV

RASPUTIN THE PEASANT

THE walls of Ipatiev's house epitomized the Revolution. One name and one effigy predominated: the name of Grishka, the silhouette of Rasputin, lasciviously caricatured. One met, here and there, allusions to the 'Tsar-bloodsucker' and other catch-phrases of the Revolution, but one felt that they were perfunctory. The one and only unpardonable crime in the eyes of the Red guards had been the preference shown by the Empress for a peasant—a common man like one of themselves. What a commentary on the blindness of the unfortunate Alexandra!

Political propaganda had represented Rasputin as a monster of iniquity and occult powers, whereby he held the Empress under his thraldom. The dossier kills this legend—it is nothing more.

Gregory Rasputin was forty-five at the time of his death (1916). Till the age of thirty-four he had lived as an ordinary peasant in his native village of Pokrovskoe, between Tobolsk and Tiumen. He had a wife and three children, a comfortable home, and enough land to feed himself and family. Griskha —to use the familiar diminutive of his Christian name, as is customary in the villages—was a fair type of the Siberian peasant-farmer. They are endowed with an abundance of mother-wit, wield the vernacular with consummate skill, and are fine, upstanding fellows, able to do a day's work or celebrate a festival equally well. Such was Gregory Rasputin. Nothing indicated a future for him different from the rest. He might be expected to plough, drink vodka, beat his wife, trick his

neighbours, and pray before the Holy Ikons in the usual sequence till he died.

* * * * *

One day he heard the Voice. It happened to peasants now and then in youth, sometimes in the prime of life, and often in their old age. After that they left their mundane affairs and prepared themselves for Eternity. Grishka had been 'called' when he was fourteen, and in an ecstasy had tried to mutilate himself. But he had fallen from grace. Now, twenty years later, the call came again. Grishka was 'converted' by Dmitri Pecherkin, a *strannik* (wanderer), who had deserted his home in the same province of Tobolsk to pray at the Holy Places. In 1905 Rasputin turned over his farm to his wife, son, and daughters, and joined Dmitri in his wanderings. Together they visited Mount Athos, Jerusalem, Kiev, Moscow and Petrograd.

I have a copy of his work, *My Thoughts and Reflections* (published in Petrograd, 1915), describing his pilgrimages. It is an assortment of stereotyped phrases, texts from Scripture, homely proverbs—just the conversation of an ordinary *strannik*. One is struck with wonderment that the 'author' of such utter commonplace should have influenced the destinies of a vast Empire, or could for one moment impose upon the cultured intellect of an Empress.

I believe that Rasputin was quite sincere in following Pecherkin, and that during his earlier days in the capital he was still an earnest devotee. Bishop Feofan met him in Petrograd, and was impressed by his sincerity. But even at this time (about 1907) he was already inclining once more towards worldly things. Pecherkin tried in vain to persuade him to take the vows and join him in a monastery. Rasputin had a fancy for the drawing-rooms of the great city, where he was petted and paraded by hostesses in search of a sensation. And thus it came to pass that, with the help of Feofan and the

PLATE II

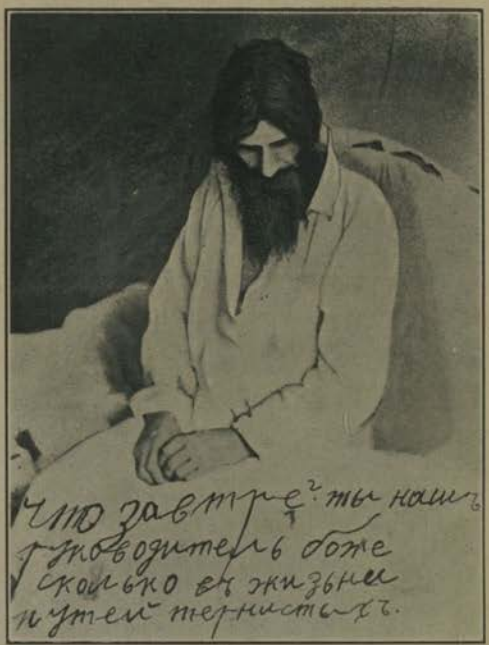
RASPUTIN

WOUNDED AT HIS VILLAGE HOME

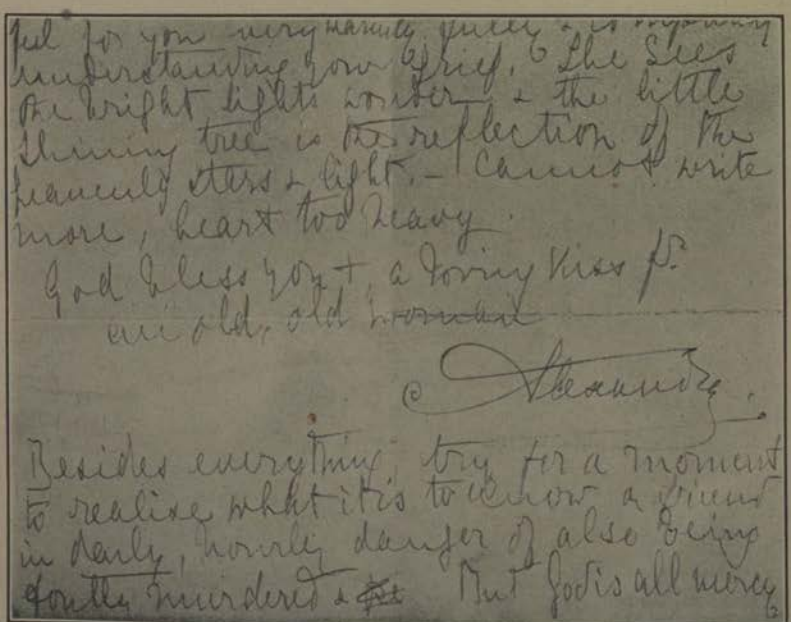
Just before the hostilities in 1914, the 'saint' had been stabbed by a peasant girl whom he had wronged, and was being nursed by his wife and daughters at Pokrovskoe (Tobolsk Province). Here he received the only letter that he ever had from Nicholas II., and here he boasted that if he had been in Petrograd at the time he would have stopped the war. Nicholas and Alexandra had no suspicion that 'Grishka' was a German agent. On this portrait the 'saint' has inscribed some of his pious reflections—'What of to-morrow? Thou art our Guide, O God. How many Thorny paths in this life?'

ALEXANDRA'S DESPAIR OVER RASPUTIN'S DEATH

Facsimile of a letter in which the Empress for once betrays her feelings. The closing sentence, written disjointedly, refers to his 'murder,' which occurred a week beforehand, and her anxiety for the safety of the Tsar, showing that she knew of a plot against his life. 'Besides everything, try for a moment to realise what it is to know a friend in *daily*, hourly danger of also being foully murdered. But God is all mercy.'



RASPUTIN


ful for you very warmly pities
understanding your grief. The Stars
the bright lights under the little
shining tree is the reflection of the
heavenly stars & light. — Cannot write
more, heart too heavy.
God bless you & a loving kiss fr.
ever old, old friend
Alexandra.
Besides everything, try for a moment
to realise what it is to know a friend
in daily, hourly danger & also being
cruelly murdered & etc But God is all merciful

ALEXANDRA'S DESPAIR

Grand Duchesses Militza and Anastasia (the Montenegrin Princesses who had already introduced various 'saints' to the mystically disposed sovereigns), Rasputin came to the Court.

The diaries and depositions of his daughter Matrena form part of the dossier. Amidst a mass of verbiage one is able to discover here and there precise landmarks of the Rasputin history. One sees the 'saint' gradually drawn into the multiple cog-wheels of Court intrigue; bound firmly to the family chariot, as his daughters are put to fashionable schools; having to make money for the girls; obliged to remain a peasant in garb and language to please his protectress. But a peasant who is divorced from his normal occupation and has disobeyed the Voice takes to drink. There is no alternative.

The unhealthy life of the city set its mark on him. 'Fish-soup, bread and *kvass* with onions, were his daily fare, but he drank red wine and Madeira . . always jolly in his cups, singing and dancing as the villagers do; whenever we remonstrated with him, he would say that he could never drink enough to drown the sorrow that was to come.' That is the description given by his daughter of Rasputin 'at home' in Petrograd. But these mild debauches were constantly supplemented by swinish orgies outside. Many a peasant, placed in the same position, would have acted in the same way.

Rasputin was just an ordinary peasant. He was rustic even in the measure of his 'perquisites.' In his native Pokrovskoe it was not considered dishonourable to cheat one's neighbour, but always in a small way, of course. So here, this man, who could have amassed a colossal fortune, contented himself with dabbling in small 'affairs' that brought in a few hundred roubles. His whole estate at the time of his death did not much exceed £10,000. Matrena declares most positively that he never possessed or attempted to display at home any occult gift of mesmerism, healing, or clairvoyancy.

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This drunken immoral peasant nevertheless played a political rôle. He gave advice to the Tsar on all sorts of important matters. He even had the audacity to stamp his foot at Nicholas for not heeding it. We know that at least on one occasion he directly influenced the Tsar to take a fatal decision. For the Imperial fête day, December 6/19, 1916, all political Russia, nobles, burgesses and peasants, expected the Tsar to go to the Duma and announce the formation of a Ministry enjoying public confidence. Alexandra was, of course, violently opposed to any concession, but she feared the influence of the Army on Nicholas, and Rasputin was produced for the occasion. He succeeded in dissuading the hapless monarch, to his undoing and to the ruin of the Army and of Russia.

I do not propose to rehearse the well-known stories about Rasputin's influence on the dismissal or appointment of ministers or prelates. Those stories are true only in so far as they represent Grishka acting as the instrument of another person's will, in most cases Alexandra's. He was too ignorant, too petty, to understand political questions. For instance, he was always urging the Emperor to come into direct contact with the people. 'Get rid of the ministers. They lie to you. Address yourself direct to the people. You will then know the truth and everything will right itself.' Nicholas became rather tired of this parrot-like repetition. He had heard it all so often from his wife. One day he told Rasputin: 'It sounds very nice, but how is it to be done? You know quite well that if I took your advice I should very soon lose my life.' 'No, never,' was the reply. 'You will be killed by an intellectual, not by a peasant'—not a convincing or cheerful response.

On one point Rasputin took what seemed to be a line of his own: he was against the war with Germany. 'She is too strong. We must be friends,' he declaimed. This view did not reflect the mind of the Empress. Who had instilled it into him? It is not difficult to guess. His daughter and

her husband are known to have been acquainted with one of the secret agents of Germany. Besides, there were also Badmaiev and a number of other doubtful personages around him. When war broke out Rasputin was lying wounded at Pokrovskoe. The Tsar telegraphed to him about the war. Grishka fell into such a rage that his wound reopened. Nicholas wrote to Rasputin only one letter. It was stolen from Grishka by Iliodor, his disappointed rival. It contained nothing of special importance.

He served the German interest in a more subtle and redoubtable manner. His very existence was bringing about the collapse of Russia by destroying the faith of the people in the Tsar. All the foremost supporters and friends of the 'saint' were of the German orientation. That was not a coincidence. Every one who even tolerated Rasputin was helping the enemy.

* * * * *

It being pretty well established that Rasputin was the direct cause—in the Empress's hands—of the Revolution and downfall of Russia, I would ask what the Ludendorffs and their Russian dupes have to say in justification of the argument that it was the Entente that brought about the Revolution. Rasputin's relationship to the defeatists was so clear to everybody in Russia that people—Russians as well as Allies—fell naturally into the mistake of supposing that the Empress must be pro-German, since she supported Rasputin. Who magnified Rasputin before the war? The *Cologne Gazette*. Who was his arch-apologist? The pro-German Witte. The Germans had almost as much to do with the Rasputin scandal as they had to do with Lenin and the exploits of his hundred Jews.[1]

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[1] Ludendorff. *War Memories*, Vol. II, page 413. '. . . The Tsar was overthrown by the Revolution, which was favoured by the Entente. The Entente's reasons for backing the Revolution are not clear. At all events, it is certain that the Entente expected the Revolution to bring them some advantage in the war. They wished at least to save anything that could be saved and, consequently, did not hesitate to

The murder of Rasputin evoked the greatest outburst of popular rejoicing that any act had ever produced. *'Ubili!'* (they have killed) was the universal greeting. People did not stop to ask who had been killed. They knew. The whole nation had desired his death, and one wonders that he so long survived. But his murder was, none the less, a mistake, since he was merely an ignorant tool, and the circumstances of his end—the lawless joy that it evoked—only helped the revolutionaries. Thenceforth, the Empress's name was in the gutter, and there was only one hope of salvation for the Tsar—to dissociate himself from his wife. To do that—to put her away into a monastery as Tsar Peter Alexeievitch would have done—was quite beyond the capacity of a gentle soul like Nicholas Alexandrovich. . . .

It had been suggested before the Revolution that she should go alone to England 'on a visit.' This argued complete ignorance of the inner life of the sovereigns. The Rasputin scandal had arisen because Alexandra morbidly imagined that the destinies of Russia depended upon their joint faith and prayers—hers and the 'saint's.' Also she was convinced that without her constant presence and support Nicholas would be lost. Sooner would she have died than go away, particularly after the death of her 'saint.'

Speaking to her maid (Tutelberg), who had ventured to express some doubts about Rasputin, the Empress said one day at Tsarskoe: 'Our Saviour chose his disciples among simple fishermen and carpenters, not among learned theologians. It is said in the Gospel that faith can move mountains. . . I believe that my son will rise. . . . I know that people think me mad for my faith, but so did they think of the Martyrs. . . .' Another day she remarked: 'The Revolution was prepared long ago. Our sufferings are nothing; we

act. The Tsar, who had begun the war in order to please the Entente, had to be removed.'

are ready to offer up our lives and sacrifice everything if needs be. . . .' The same witness deposed that Rasputin came seldom to the Palace—' only when Alexis was ill.'

* * * * *

It is the writer's belief that Alexandra was tempted to dabble in black magic ; her religious faith did not preclude knowledge of occult science, as witness her predilection for cabalistic signs, the swastika, etc. There were persons suspiciously like black magicians around and inside the Palace at various times : Philippe, Papus, Badmaiev. Now Rasputin bore a certain resemblance to Tsar Ivan Grozny, and may have been regarded by Alexandra as an incarnation of the Terrible One—combining in his person the Peasant and Autocrat, the mystic union in which she saw the salvation of Russia.

There had been plots to kill Alexandra and even the Tsar. It is curious, indeed, that her life should have been spared. One must bear in mind the probability of German ' protection.' It is evident that Alexandra's death would have put an end to the Rasputin scandal and therefore been unprofitable for Germany. As for Nicholas, the people were on his side to the last—till the Revolution extinguished in men's minds the last vestige of all that was seemly.

The manner of Rasputin's murder is known to all. The man who killed him is no more. His diary has been published. It gives almost a complete account of the murder. One feature has escaped attention, and I mention it because it gives point to the true version of Rasputin's character as related above. The accomplices had prepared a most elaborate scheme for killing him, yet in the end it was Purishkevitch with a vulgar revolver that effected the deed. Poisoned tarts, ' doctored ' wine, and even a revolver shot had been in vain. The conspirators had innocently administered an antidote with the poison ; the shooter's hand had trembled so that he had failed to hit Rasputin standing a few paces away. But why all this

rigmarole? The fact is the conspirators were affected by the Rasputin propaganda; they also believed that the man was more than mortal. Purishkevitch thought that the devil was in him till the third bullet brought him down. That was an epoch-making shot.

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Rasputin was fond of identifying his own well-being with that of Russia. In this, as in other things, he merely copied the Empress. When Khionia Guseva, incited by the monk Iliodor, who had fallen out with Grishka, stuck a knife into the 'saint,' he announced that 'much blood would flow' and that there would be 'woe unutterable if and when he died.' But he was ever prophesying all sorts of things, good and bad, like the proverbial tipster. It suited the interested or superstitious to proclaim him infallible. Anyhow, it did not require much acumen to read the signs of coming disaster in Russia. Grishka was no fool, and he must have had a shrewd idea what his own friends and supporters were doing. But charlatanism 'paid,' and he had a family to support and lots of 'friends' coming for assistance, all of which flattered Grishka's cheap little soul and kept him on his daily round of prayer and debauch.

Rasputin the monster is a fiction, bred in the busy brains of politicians and elaborated by the teeming imagination of sensational novelists. Rasputin the saint is an imaginary product of a woman's diseased mind. Even the stories of the 'sanctifying' baths and other 'flagellant' (*khlyst*) rites, supposed to have been practised by a demoniacal Grishka, turn out to be imaginary. It is not unusual for the peasants in certain parts of Russia to take the steam bath in common. They admit no strangers, but there is nothing unseemly in their intention. It was quite appropriate for a native of Tobolsk to practise it. And in this and in his gross familiarities with the other sex Grishka was merely Rasputin the Peasant, a village Satyr.

CHAPTER V

'THE TSAR IS INNOCENT'

BEFORE the Revolution, propagandists of all descriptions aimed their poisoned shafts at the Empress. Her fatal belief in Rasputin rendered her an easy prey. The revolutionary section watched over Grishka, just as their German accomplices 'protected' Alexandra. Nicholas was left alone, comparatively speaking. After the Revolution all the energies of the dark forces involved were concentrated upon him. It was not enough that he had voluntarily abdicated; he had to be shorn of all prestige, so that the inveterate devotion and loyalty of the people, which had formed the very foundation of Russia's existence, should be swept away for ever. 'The Tsar was a traitor; he and his wife had been in secret communication with the Germans.' In city, village and camp this poisonous rumour spread.

Blindly, the Provisional Government did nothing to stop it. The Order of the Day to the Armies, in which Nicholas, bidding good-bye to his soldiers, proclaimed his unshaken loyalty to the sacred cause of Russia, and besought them never to lay down their arms to Germany, was suppressed by telegram from the War Office in Petrograd.[1] Evil deeds come back to roost whence they have issued. The people

[1] Here is the text of the suppressed document :—

'My dearly loved troops, I address you for the last time. After my abdication, for me and for my son, from the Russian Throne, the power is transferred to the Provisional Government which rose on the initiation of the Duma. God help them to lead Russia on the way

who besmirched the Tsar to please the revolutionaries were themselves punished. One does not undermine the faith of a whole nation without destroying all authority.

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When the Empress and her sick children were proclaimed prisoners of state, and a few days later Nicholas arrived under custody at Tsarskoe, this foul charge of treachery hung over them, poisoning their lives by the mental and even physical torture that ensued. It was because of this abominable lie that the ex-Sovereigns were first treated like common malefactors, kept in separate rooms, and forbidden to see or communicate with each other; and the soldiers and officers of the guard considered themselves justified in persecuting and insulting them, and even their followers deserted them.

After the overhauling of all their private papers by a special court of inquiry instituted by order of the revolutionary chieftain, Kirbiss-Kerensky, even he had to amend his demeanour. '*Tsar chist*' (the Tsar is clean), he declared. The Russian phrase means more than 'innocent'; it is really 'beyond reproach.' But the Jewish Press and the Soviet did not

of glory and prosperity. God help you also, valiant troops, to hold our native land firmly against the evil enemy.

'During two and a half years you endured, daily, the hardships of active service. Much blood has been shed, many efforts have been made, and the hour is already near when Russia, bound to her valiant Allies, by one general impulse to victory, will break the last efforts of the adversary.

'This unprecedented war must be brought to a full victory. He who thinks now of peace, who wishes it—that man is a betrayer of his Fatherland, a traitor. I know that every honest soldier thinks thus. Then fulfil your duty, defend our native land valiantly, submit yourselves to the Provisional Government, obey your commanders, remember that every weakening of discipline in the service is only an advantage to the enemy.

'I firmly believe that the infinite love of our great native land has not died out of your hearts. May God bless you, and Saint George the great Vanquisher and Martyr guide you.

'NICHOLAS.'

The Order was counter-signed by General Alexeiev, Chief of Staff.

recant their foul slanders. No justice could be shown to the man whom they hated. Captivity lost some of its worst forms after the innocence of the ex-Tsar had been established. But Tsarskoe-Selo was only a prelude to worse martyrdom.

I do not wish to go over the details of the first captivity, a good deal being already known about the five months at Tsarskoe-Selo. Only the more important episodes are given here, based upon the depositions of members of the Imperial household. But before relating these sad memories, I would take the reader a little farther back, and touch upon fateful incidents that have not yet been recorded in their proper bearing.

I have referred to the estrangement of nearly every one of the ex-Empress's friends as a consequence of her malady. This exodus of intimates included kinsfolk as well as humbler people. Even the Montenegrin Princesses Anastasia and Militza[1] were no exceptions to the rule. Coldness between the wives in this case was bound sooner or later to affect the husbands. Alexandra resented the popularity of the Grand Duke Nicholas as a personal affront. In the end she succeeded in persuading her husband to dismiss him and to assume the Chief Command. But she punished herself. The Tsar at the Stavka (G.H.Q.) began to do things without her knowledge and consent. He actually listened to dreadful stories about the 'saint,' dismissed Stuermer, and might go further. Rasputin's death helped the Empress to reassert her usual influence. Then, once more, the Tsar went off to Moghilev, and anxiety crept again into the mind of Alexandra.

The illness of the children—they all contracted measles in a very bad form—caused her worry of another sort. For a time the Autocrat was forgotten in the mother; and so,

[1] They are the wives of the Grand Dukes Nicholas and his brother Peter, and sisters of the Queen of Italy. At one time they were very friendly with the Empress, and through them Rasputin came to the notice of the Court. Afterwards they became enemies of Rasputin.

when the rumbling of the Revolution was already loud, she did not discern it. Protopopov, the friend of the departed 'saint,' was assuring her that nothing serious had occurred. When the children were out of danger, she had leisure to take stock of affairs. Realizing that Protopopov was not to be trusted, she sent for the Grand Duke Paul. Rumours about the Tsar tormented her. He was going to abdicate. The idea of such a surrender made her frantic. Paul could not help. She tried to get into communication with her husband by aeroplane. A trusty flying officer was summoned, but even this venture failed.

Remaining outwardly calm, she showed the measure of her anxiety by abandoning the reserve that she had always displayed. Thus she herself came out to the guards battalions and units that had been concentrated around the Palace, and actually made a speech to them.

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On the morning of March 21, General Kornilov came to inform Alexandra 'that upon him had fallen the painful duty of announcing the ordinance of the Council of Ministers that from that hour Her Majesty must consider herself to be under arrest.' This announcement was made to the Empress in the children's play-room in the presence of Colonel Kobylinsky, the new commandant of the Palace. Then General Kornilov asked to speak to the Empress alone. He assured her that there was no danger, and then gave instructions for the treatment of the prisoners, based upon kindness and courtesy.

The meeting between husband and wife was a very affecting one. Nicholas came straight to the nursery. They embraced each other tenderly, 'forgetting the world and its troubles in the joy of reunion with their children.' Prison rules, rigorously applied, thenceforth prevented any communication with the outside, and for a time even between the prisoners.

Kerensky set about trying to discover some evidence of collusion with the enemy. Alexandra was isolated. A creature of Kerensky's, named Korovichenko, came to search the Imperial papers. The Tsar politely offered to help him, but met with a rude rebuff, after which he left Korovichenko alone. Having satisfied himself that no such evidence existed Kerensky somewhat altered his demeanour. At his first meeting with the ex-Tsar, he had adopted a tone of haughty familiarity. Later, he became polite, even respectful, addressing him as 'Your Majesty,' instead of plain 'Nicholas Alexandrovich.'

Although the soldiers guarding the Palace were not supposed to enter its precincts, the prisoners did not enjoy immunity from their prying gaze and offensive curiosity. They broke into the Palace and pilfered, ransacking trunks. On one occasion they rushed into the sitting-room where the family had assembled. One of the girls sat between the light and the window, doing some sewing. Her movements silhouetted outside had been suspected to be signals.

An officer accompanying the Minister of War (Guchkov) on one of his visits loudly accused the occupants of the Palace of being 'sold to the enemy' (*Vy vsie prodazhnyie*). The fact that he was intoxicated did not lighten the insult. It showed what unworthy suspicions animated people in the Ministries. The ignorant soldiers who imbibed their daily dose of revolutionary lore from the Soviets were not better or worse than their chiefs. By dogging the ex-Tsar's footsteps when he went out for exercise, by shooting the boy's pet goats, and taking away his toy rifle, and by other acts of the same kind the soldiers were merely copying their officers. These demonstratively donned red badges and ignored the Tsar's salute.

Senseless clamour had led to daily espionage of the family. Officers of the guard went into the dining-room at lunch time

to see if the prisoners were all in the Palace. The Tsar always greeted them. On one occasion an officer declined the extended hand. Nicholas, deeply hurt, asked him: 'Why?' The man, putting his hand behind his back, declaimed: 'I am of the people. When the people stretched their hands out to you, you did not meet them!'

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At the end of July the captives heard that they would shortly go away. It was impossible to leave them there any longer. The Soviets of Petrograd and Kronstadt had tried to obtain possession of them by force and by stealth. Once an individual attired in uniform, styling himself Colonel Maslovsky, had made his appearance, and, producing a paper signed Chkheidze, demanded, in the name of the Soviet of Petrograd, the transfer of the prisoners to the Fortress of SS. Peter and Paul, threatening to call in the troops if his demands were not immediately complied with. It was with the greatest difficulty that Colonel Kobylinsky averted the danger. The Provisional Government could not afford to let the Soviets obtain the custody of such valuable hostages. It had to remove them to a place of safety—above all to a place where the Soviets could not easily reach them. Perhaps this explains the selection of such a remote place as Tobolsk. It was chosen by Kerensky without the knowledge of the captives. They thought, till the train was conveying them eastward, that they were bound for the south. The ex-Tsar did not like his destination. He suspected a trap, though what should have made him suspicious is not known.

Permission had been given to the banished sovereigns to choose the persons who were to accompany them into exile. Nicholas selected his aide-de-camp Naryshkin, but as this favourite hesitated, he at once crossed out his name and proposed Ilya Leonidovich Tatishchev, who, with Prince

Vasily Alexandrovich Dolgoruky, remained with him to the end, paying for their loyalty and devotion with their lives. In a separate chapter I shall describe the heroism, sufferings, and end of those who were faithful unto death—of the two whom I have just named, of Dr. Botkin and of young Countess Anastasia Vasilievna Hendrykova, angel of purity and grace, whose mere presence at the Court of Alexandra should have kept away all things evil, and of devoted Mlle. Schneider, and of the humbler servitors. The ex-Empress was not permitted, for some unexplained reason, to take her favourite maid.

The evil genius of the household, Anna Vyrubova, had been locked up in the fortress. She and Voeikov, the ex-palace commandant, had been subjected to the most searching interrogation by the members of the 'Extraordinary Commission of Inquiry regarding the Dark Forces.' Such was the high-sounding title invented by Kerensky to mobilize all methods of bringing home to the Tsar the abominable charges invented against him. Nothing could be proved, because there was nothing to prove. But Kerensky had his spies all the time at the Palace and sent one to Tobolsk.

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Young Alexis celebrated his thirteenth birthday on the eve of departure. The family attended a special service and afterwards offered up the customary prayers for a safe journey. They were going into the unknown. Here in their own familiar surroundings life had not been so terrible towards the end of their captivity. What had the future in store? The war was still in progress. They could not leave the country. Perhaps when peace came, some quiet refuge would open its gates, and they could live happily together. The girls and the boy were delighted like all young things over the prospect of a journey. Alexis and his sisters had quite recovered from their illness.

At midnight of August 13 Kerensky came to the Palace, assembled the soldiers who had been selected to escort the family, and made them a speech. 'You have guarded the Tsar's family here,' he said, 'you also will have to guard them in the new place where they are going by order of the Council of Ministers. Remember, one does not hit a man who is down. Bear yourselves like men, not like cads.'

He then entered the Palace. The ex-Tsar's only brother, the Grand Duke Michael, had been permitted to come to say good-bye. Kerensky gave him ten minutes with Nicholas, remaining in the room with them. The brothers were never to meet again. Michael did not see any other member of the family.

Learning that the Tsar's family was to be removed from Tsarskoe-Selo the men employed at the railway station refused to let out the engine. All night the exiles waited for the train. It came at six o'clock in the morning.

CHAPTER VI

EXILE IN SIBERIA

THE period between autumn, 1917, and the following spring furnishes much material for this tragic history. It was during their exile in Siberia that the fate of the Romanovs was decided—not in the Urals. It was at Tobolsk, in the close intimacy that misfortune naturally brings, that the true character of each captive, high and low, asserted itself. Thus, invaluable data have been obtained for the historian.

At first the captives enjoyed the respite of remoteness from the storm centre of Petrograd. But many circumstances gradually impaired this advantage. They began to suffer privations even before the Reds captured the government. The remittances promised by Kerensky did not arrive. After the Bolshevist usurpation, the captives were allowed starvation rations, and had to eke out their livelihood by needlework, drawings, etc. Then the boy fell ill with one of his periodical attacks, aggravated by the exhausting effects of the Siberian winter and inadequate diet.

At Tobolsk Alexandra showed herself to be strong, brave, gentle. Adversity seemed to bring out all that was best in her nature. Yet here the family physician, who had followed them into exile and afterwards shared their fate in Ekaterinburg, became entirely convinced that she was not quite normal. It required only a chance remark on political topics to provoke an hysterical outburst. As usual, she could see nothing bad in the peasants, even when the peasant soldiers of the guard

were constantly behaving 'like cads' despite Kerensky's exhortations.

Nicholas sawed wood and gave lessons to the children. Indeed, with the help of Mr. Sidney Gibbes and M. Gillard and other teachers, they were making up for time lost in their education.

With so many and such powerful influences interested in their existence, it was only to be expected that efforts would be made to enter into communication with the exiled monarchs. Each of the parties then fighting for power in Russia had its spies and emissaries in Tobolsk. It is certain that the Germans were represented in many ways. It is equally certain that the Entente had nobody. The talk of a rescue by some bold Englishman ascending the Ob and Irtysh from the Arctic Ocean and wafting away the prisoners is not only unfounded, it is the merest moonshine. Winter in Siberia lasts seven months, during which time there is no means of reaching the northern shores except on sleighs. Any attempt to enter or leave the country would have been easily discovered and notified by telegraph, which was wholly in the hands of the Soviets.

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One comfort was not denied to the captives—they sent and received letters, in some cases without censorship. They were also able to get newspapers and other literature. Thus they were in touch with the happenings of the outer world. These did not bring them much consolation, it must be admitted. Nicholas never recovered from the blow of learning in this manner of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Up to that time he had, in spite of everything, kept alive some hope for the future of his country. Thenceforth he was a man without hope, and all that happened afterwards left him indifferent. If he could have died without causing pain to his wife and children, he would have died gladly, unable to live down the stain of dishonour.

PLATE III

(*a*)

The Tsar sawing wood in the courtyard of the Governor's Palace, Tobolsk. It is winter. He wears the *papaha* (military fur hat) and felt boots.

(*b*)

The Empress Alexandra in the Governor's Palace, Tobolsk.

(*c*)

The Tsarevich Alexis and his spaniel 'Joy,' in the park at Tsarskoe.

PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN DURING THEIR CAPTIVITY

(*a*)

(*b*)

(*c*)

PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN DURING THEIR CAPTIVITY

The exiles suffered unconsciously from the senseless if not traitorous behaviour of a man in whom they naturally trusted—the local priest, Father Vasiliev. Base cupidity may have been his only motive, but it is certain that he caused incalculable harm and must be held accountable for the tales of alleged plots to escape from Tobolsk. The Reds used him as their tool. Perhaps he was not altogether blind. There were other 'friends' who, proverbially, proved to be worse than enemies. On the other hand, many instances of disinterested loyalty and devotion consoled the captives in their afflictions.

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From Tsarskoe to Tobolsk, the journey under normal conditions required not more than a week. The Imperial exiles reached their destination on August 19, within six days of departure. They travelled in comfort in sleeping cars with a whole retinue of servants. The list of the passengers as officially approved numbers forty-five all told. Two trains conveyed them and their effects. Stoppages were not made at the large stations because local workmen and Soviets were disposed to interfere. They had done so at Zvanka, the first important station on the Vologda-Viatka route, by which the party travelled. The deputy Vershinin, who had brought the Tsar a prisoner from Moghilev, acted again in the capacity of representative of the Provisional Government during this journey. He had the greatest difficulty in overcoming the resistance at Zvanka. The workers did not wish to allow the trains to pass.

At Tiumen two steamers awaited the party for the river trip to Tobolsk. They passed by the village of Pokrovskoe. Alexandra called the children to look at the birthplace of the saint' on the banks of the stream in which he had fished. She was fond of comparing him to the fishermen of Galilee, humble men like him. The children dutifully complied and joined their mother in prayer—not because they liked or

regretted Grishka, but out of love and obedience to their mother. To her diseased imagination this coincidence between the scene of their exile and the home of Rasputin had a mystical meaning.

The voyage had been as pleasant as it could possibly be. The tedium of the long days in the train had been relieved by frequent stoppages amidst forest or field. All who wished could alight and walk, while the train followed slowly. Such comforts are possible only in Russia. Descending the tributaries of the mighty Irtysh, the exiles had a wonderful picture of the Siberian autumn, with its splendour of colouring and teeming bird life. At Tobolsk they had to remain a whole week in the steamers, because the houses intended for them were not ready. They were, of course, under constant guard, but allowed to take exercise ashore.

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On August 26 they moved into their new prison. Alexandra was suffering more than usual from her trouble. She drove in a comfortable carriage. The Tsar and the family and household walked. With the exception of a few servants, all found accommodation in two houses: one a warm, roomy stone building, formerly the residence of the Governor; the other adjoining it and known as the Kornilov house. The ex-sovereigns and their children took up their quarters in the upper storey of the Governor's house. Here were the Tsar's study and the bed-chambers of the imperial couple, of Alexis and of the Grand duchesses. Here also was the drawing-room. Downstairs were the school-room, servants' rooms, and the quarters of the commandant and officers on guard duty. The suite and other servants lived in the Kornilov house. Later, the soldiers expelled many of these occupants without reason, and, as some of them had to be accommodated in the Governor's house, there was no small discomfort from overcrowding.

Both houses faced the main street, which had been re-named Ulitza Svobody (Liberty Street). People passing by could see into the lower rooms. It became a custom to bow to any member of the family who happened to be visible, and some of the citizens would demonstratively make the sign of the Cross. Behind the Governor's house was an immense enclosure, surrounded by a high wooden fence. Here the family took their exercise; here the ex-Tsar chopped and sawed wood, and with his own unaided efforts built a sort of wooden terrace, where the captives loved to sit whenever the weather permitted.

Early rising was the rule. All except the ex-Empress were ready for breakfast by 8.30. Alexandra's health was so bad that she seldom left her room before lunch-time. Breakfast, as usual among Russians, was a slight meal of tea and bread. The ex-Tsar had it in his study with his eldest daughter Olga, who of all the children most resembled him in character. The other children and members of the household assembled in the dining-room, situated on the ground floor of the Governor's house. The Empress had coffee in bed.

Till eleven o'clock Nicholas read or wrote his diary, while the children had lessons. From eleven till noon father and children were in the courtyard. He worked with axe or saw and the young folks played games. At twelve o'clock all went to the school-room and had sandwiches, after which the Tsar left his children to continue their lessons. The family and household met at one o'clock at lunch—a simple meal—after which they were in the open air, weather permitting, till 4 p.m. The Empress seldom left the house. Olga and Tatiana, the two elder Grand duchesses, helped their father in his manual work. Alexis generally had a short sleep after lunch, and then followed the others into the courtyard with his tutors.

Five o'clock tea was served in the Tsar's study. Then followed an interval for reading or games, then two hours for

preparation of lessons. Dinner at eight consisted of soup, fish, meat, sweet-dish and coffee. It was prepared by the Imperial cook, Haritonov, and during the earlier period differed little from the customary repast of old times. Everybody met in the drawing-room after dinner. There were reading and conversation, Court etiquette being forgotten. Alexis retired to rest early. At eleven o'clock tea was served, and soon afterwards all lights were out.

Despite her poor health, Alexandra was seldom idle. In the morning she gave lessons to the children and did needlework. When she remained alone in the house she would play the piano. Often, when the heart trouble was severe, she had dinner also in her room, and then Alexis kept her company.

The company at table included besides the family only the persons already mentioned as forming the household—namely Countess Hendrykova, Mlle. Schneider, Prince Dolgoruky, General Tatishchev, Mr. Gibbes, M. Gillard, and Dr. Botkin. On Sundays came Dr. Derevenko and his son Kolia.

The Tsar gave lessons to Alexis in history, a favourite subject, in which Nicholas was extremely well versed. Alexandra instructed all the children in religion, and taught her favourite daughter Anastasia German—a language that none of the children understood. Anastasia was ambitious to know everything. She studied history with the help of Countess Hendrikova. Another teacher, Mme. Bittner, came afterwards to help in the school-room. To relieve the monotony of their lives, the children were encouraged to take up private theatricals. Several plays, English and French, were produced with great success.

To the Empress's intense joy, they were permitted to attend church. Her greatest sorrow at Tsarskoe had been the interdict on church-going, the nearest place of worship being outside the precincts of the Palace and therefore inaccessible to the prisoners. Here at last they could go to church, after

a lapse of more than four months. But the sacred edifice was closed to other worshippers when the exiles attended it.

Unhappily, this source of spiritual comfort was not unalloyed with temporal drawbacks. Father Vasiliev, the incumbent, did a very rash thing one day. Without consulting anybody, he suddenly intoned the prayers for the sovereigns as if they were still on the Throne. The exiles were powerless to interfere. Of course, the incident came to the knowledge of the whole garrison immediately afterwards, and led to the sort of reprisals that one might have expected: church-going was stopped for ever, and, what was worse, the soldiers insisted upon having a representative inside the house at all religious services, to see that the above-named practice was not repeated. Thus all the efforts of Colonel Kobylinsky, the good-hearted commandant, to keep the soldiers out of the house were defeated.

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Within a month of their arrival in Tobolsk the exiles were placed under the observation of special emissaries of the Provisional Government: the Komisar Pankratov and his assistant, Nikolsky. The former enjoyed high confidence and renown in revolutionary circles, having spent fifteen years in the Fortress of Schlusselburg and twenty-seven years in exile in Siberia. A typical theorist, dangerous in his teachings, he was personally the best-hearted of men. He adored children, and was the playmate of the young Romanovs, whom he literally enthralled with stories of his prison years. His particular favourite was Marie. Nikolsky, on the other hand, was uncouth, uncultured, brutal, and stupid, and took an apparent delight in bullying the young folks, especially Alexis. With permission from the Government, some medicinal wine had been sent to Tobolsk from Tsarskoe. Nikolsky took the bottles and smashed them.

As a matter of fact, the delightful but not very far-sighted

Pankratov caused much more harm than the bestial Nikolsky. True to his revolutionary principles, he immediately proceeded to indoctrinate the soldiers. Perhaps he feared the personal influence and charm of the ex-Tsar. Pankratov talked with them by the hour on the wonders of the Socialist-Revolutionary programme, and, as so often happened in Russia, the ignorant listeners became not Socialist-Revolutionaries but Bolshevists. Anyhow, they very soon lost all respect for authority in the persons of their commandant and officers and began to ill-treat the prisoners. They sank so low that even the young grand duchesses suffered insult. Lewd drawings and inscriptions disfigured the posts of the swing that was their only outdoor pastime. Later, these hooligans broke up the ice-hill that the girls and their father had put up in the yard.

The day came when they included the ex-Tsar in their devilries. Nicholas wore the simplest garb—a soldier's khaki shirt and overcoat, retaining only his colonel's shoulder-straps and his Cross of St. George. Suddenly the soldiers decided that he must take off his badges of rank. In vain Kobylinsky remonstrated with them. They threatened violence if their 'orders' were not carried out at once. It hurt the ex-Tsar to the quick to cut off his shoulder-straps. Thenceforth the cross alone remained to symbolize his fidelity to Russia and her allies. He kept it ever on his breast to his dying day.

Some of the old soldiers remained immune from Pankratov's influence, and when the time came for them to be relieved, they visited the ex-Tsar by stealth to bid good-bye. These were affecting scenes. The men fell on their knees and prayed, and then embraced the captive and blessed him. Of course, Nicholas related all this to Alexandra, whereby her invincible belief in the peasants gathered new strength.

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On several occasions violent disputes arose between Alexandra and one of the ladies, because the latter spoke of the

horrible behaviour of the soldiers. Alexandra lost all control over herself, and cried: 'They are all good! They are all good! They are led astray by Jews. . . . The people will come to their senses, and there will be order. . . . The soldiers are all right. I wish the officers were more energetic.'

In November, while Kerensky was still at the head of the Government, no money had as yet been received, in spite of all his promises. The funds of the household had run out, and Dolgoruky and Tatishchev, having expended their own substance, had to borrow from charitable souls in the town, giving their note of hand in return. Two months later, word came from the Soviet Government that it had no money to spend on the prisoners. They would be allowed to occupy their houses free of charge, would receive soldiers' rations, and have to work if they wanted anything more. Sorrowfully, they faced the situation. One-third of the servants were at once released, each receiving a certain sum out of the scanty remnants. Nicholas and Alexandra never knew how their faithful followers had to pinch and contrive in order to keep the household from starvation.

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Alexis astonished the household by his precocious understanding. 'I begin to know the truth here. At Tsarskoe everybody told lies,' he remarked one day. 'If I become Tsar, no one will dare to tell me lies. I shall make order in the land.' He combined his mother's will with his father's charm. Those who came to know the boy at Tobolsk are confident that he would have justified his words.

To a visitor at his bedside when he was ill, he spoke his thoughts about Rasputin. The 'saint's' portrait had been placed by Alexandra near her sick son's pillow. The visitor accidentally upset it. 'Do not pick it up!' cried Alexis. 'The floor is the place for it.'

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Towards the end of their exile, some, if not all, of the captives realized the desperate nature of their position, and had scant hope of surviving Bolshevist rule for any length of time. Pathetic evidences of their attitude were found among the papers that remained at Tobolsk and came into the hands of the investigating magistrate. Among them are two prayers written in verse—apparently composed by Countess Hendrykova and transcribed by the Grand Duchess Olga. Here is an approximate rendering of some of the verses :—

Grant us Thy patience, Lord,
In these our woeful days,
The mob's wrath to endure,
The torturers' ire ;

Thine unction to forgive
Our neighbours' persecution,
And mild, like Thee, to bear
A blood-stained Cross.

And when the mob prevails,
And foes come to despoil us,
To suffer humbly shame,
O Saviour aid us !

And when the hour comes
To pass the last dread gate,
Breathe strength in us to pray,
' Father, forgive them ! '

CHAPTER VII

MOSCOW AND BERLIN

THE intimate connexion between Berlin and Moscow yielded many living examples among the visitors to Tobolsk. Many, if not all, of the spies, emissaries, and other agents appearing there had been at one time or another in the German capital. Yakovlev, the special commissary sent to remove the prisoners from Tobolsk, was no exception to the rule

His appearance was preceded by certain events which must be related here. The soldiers forming the guard at Tobolsk grew tired of Pankratov and his everlasting speeches. By the end of the first week in February (1918) they had decided to get rid of him and of Nikolsky. On the 9th they turned them out of the Kornilov house and drove them out of the town. They then telegraphed to Moscow, reporting what they had done, and asked that a proper commissary—not an appointee of Kerensky—should be sent. But Moscow remained obstinately silent. The time for action had not yet arrived. Meanwhile, the Soviet at Omsk, representing Western Siberia, sent a representative to Tobolsk. He arrived on March 24. This man was a certain Dutzman, a Jew. He did not interfere with the prison *régime*; indeed, he never came near the governor's house.

At the end of March, Alexis had a severe attack of his illness—the worst ever known. Both legs were paralysed. The pain was excruciating and unremitting. Day and night he cried aloud in his agony, and the prematurely aged and infirm mother had to sit by and comfort him. After a whole month of suffering the patient began to improve and the pains grew

less, but he was still a cripple and could not be moved without serious danger. At this juncture appeared the Soviet emissary, Yakovlev. Neither the soldiers nor the captives were surprised. Only a few days later they understood what an important part he had come to play in their lives.

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Yakovlev reached Tobolsk with an escort of 150 horsemen late in the evening of April 22 and unobtrusively took up his residence in the Kornilov house. Colonel Kobylinsky saw him next morning. Yakovlev handed him an order from the Tsik, signed by Sverdlov, intimating that the bearer was entrusted with a mission of the highest importance and that he must be implicitly obeyed, but no hint was given as to the nature of the mission. Yakovlev then had the men of the guard mustered and showed them a similar document, by which they were informed that any disobedience to him would be punished with death. To sugar the pill, Yakovlev told them that he had brought them a lot of money, the Soviet having decided to pay at the rate of three roubles a day instead of 50 kopecks, the rate fixed by the Kerensky Government. Altogether, Yakovlev showed himself to be an expert in the art of handling peasant soldiers, but he had to overcome opposition of a more subtle kind from a Jew named Zaslavsky, who had insinuated himself among the guards as the representative of the Uralian Soviet. This man had previously caused no end of trouble by 'discovering' 'plots,' and had almost persuaded the soldiers on one occasion to insist that the Imperial captives should be transferred to the town lock-up. In fact, here once more it was only the coolness of the resourceful Kobylinsky that had saved the situation.

But this noxious individual did not have things all his own way. The Omsk Soviet also had its representative among the guard—a Russian named Degtiarev. Now the two Soviets—that of Omsk and the one at Ekaterinburg—

being constantly at odds, their emissaries were naturally jealous of each other. Thus it was enough for Zaslavsky to take one view in order that Degtiarev should take the opposite one. Zaslavsky had for some reason immediately stirred up opposition to Yakovlev and tried to persuade the soldiers that he was a spy come to deliver the prisoners. With Zaslavsky was an Ekaterinburg workman named Avdeiev, who figured prominently in subsequent events. It is noteworthy that Yakovlev came to Tobolsk by way of Ufa—a roundabout journey from Moscow—apparently in order to avoid Ekaterinburg. Yakovlev had friends in Ufa. It is probable that he had met Avdeiev there. He appears to have imagined that Avdeiev might help him to prevent or allay suspicion in Ekaterinburg. In this he was mistaken.

At a meeting of the soldiers on the 24th, Degtiarev, backed by Yakovlev, attacked Zaslavsky with such vim that the men threw him out, and he made haste to escape to Ekaterinburg to relate a purely imaginary story of Yakovlev's designs to release the Romanovs. But there is evidence to show that he first communicated by wire with Sverdlov. Zaslavsky's poisonous character may have been the only prompting necessary, but it is not impossible that he may have been 'inspired' from Moscow to play a part in the intricate conspiracy that was to exterminate the Romanovs. Certainly Yakovlev underrated his capacity for mischief, as will appear later. Sverdlov tried to make the world believe that Nicholas II was to be brought to Moscow for trial. But this may have only been an after-thought. In any case, it was easy to have him intercepted by playing upon local ignorance and suspicion through Zaslavsky.

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Meanwhile, during these two days (the 23rd and 24th), Yakovlev had been repeatedly inside the governor's house, and on each occasion had gone to the boy's room, appearing

suddenly, looking fixedly at the patient, and then going away. Nobody noticed his strange behaviour at the time. They remembered it afterwards. No one knew as yet what he had come for. On the night of the 24th Yakovlev went to the telegraph office, taking with him an expert operator who had come with him from Moscow, and had a long conversation over the wire with Sverdlov, the substance of which—as transpired later—dealt with the boy's sickness and the impossibility of moving him. Sverdlov gave him 'new instructions' to the effect that he was to bring Nicholas and that since the boy could not come he would have to be left behind for the present.

From the telegraph office, Yakovlev went straight to Colonel Kobylinsky and, for the first time, disclosed the object of his mission. 'But what about Alexis?' remonstrated the commandant. 'That is the trouble,' was the reply. 'I have satisfied myself that he is really too ill to travel, so my orders now are to take the ex-Tsar alone and leave the family here for the present. I propose to start to-morrow. Arrange for me to see him at once.' It should be explained that as the roads would, in a few days, become impassable, and the river-ice break up any moment, owing to the advance of spring, it was necessary to leave Tobolsk at once or wait several weeks till the rivers were clear of ice. Hence Yakovlev's haste. But as he was apparently well acquainted with the character of the Empress, he insisted that Nicholas should receive him alone. An interview was appointed two o'clock on the following day for the interview. Alexandra became furious on learning that she was not to be present. When Yakovlev entered the drawing-room, she met him with flaming eyes and asked him how he dared to separate husband and wife. Yakovlev, with a shrug of the shoulders, addressed himself to Nicholas: 'The Moscow Central Executive Committee have sent me as Commissary Extraordinary with power to remove the whole family, but as Alexis Nikolaievich is ill I have received orders

to leave with you alone.' The Tsar replied: 'I shall go nowhere.' Yakovlev remonstrated: 'You must not say that. I have to carry out orders. If you refuse to go, I must either use force or send in my resignation, and then some one else will come who will be less humane. Have no anxiety; I answer for your life with my head. If you do not wish to go alone, take anybody you like. Be ready to leave to-morrow at four.' Yakovlev thereupon left without addressing the Empress.

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Kobylinsky remained in compliance with a request from the ex-Tsar. Alexandra and Tatishchev and Dolgoruky stood by. 'Where do they want to take me?' asked Nicholas. 'To Moscow,' was the reply. 'Yakovlev let it slip out when I inquired how long he would be away before returning to fetch the family.' The ex-Tsar nodded, as if the news confirmed his own knowledge. Turning to his followers he declared: 'You see they want me to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. But I would rather cut off my hand than do so.'

Alexandra, much agitated, interposed: 'I am also going. Without me they will persuade him into doing [illegible]thing, as they did once before. . . .' And she fired a volley of abuse at Rodzianko for his part in the abdication. But in the stress of the moment she had forgotten her sick boy. The hours that followed will ever be recalled by all who survive the most painful of their memories. This distracted mother, unable to stand for more than five minutes, paced like a caged tigress. She summoned her favourite daughter Tatiana and burst into a storm of weeping. For the first time her attendants saw her lose all self-control. In broken sentences she disburdened herself of her sorrow, revealing in her distress the innermost thoughts of her mind: 'The Germans know that their treaty is valueless without the Tsar's signature. . . . They want to separate him from his family in order to frighten him into some disgraceful act. . . . He will be afraid to refuse on our account. . . . It will be a repetition of Pskov. . . .'

She wrestled with herself, praying that she might not have to choose between her husband and her son, hoping that the river might suddenly open and prevent any travelling. At last she came to a decision, and, jumping up, cried: 'It is enough, I go with the Emperor.' Nicholas entered the room. She greeted him with the words: 'I shall not let you go alone.' 'As you will,' was his reply.

Volkov, the Empress's confidential man-servant, deposes that he saw her in the Tsarevitch's room, and as she was going out inquired what was the matter. Alexandra replied: '*Gosudar* (the Tsar) is to be taken away to Moscow. They want him to conclude peace. But I am going with him. I shall never permit such a thing. What would our Allies say?'

Madame Bittner spoke to the Tsar at this same juncture. She suggested that 'they,' meaning the Germans, would take him 'out of the country.' He replied: 'God grant that it be not so. Only not abroad!' This witness deposes that the whole family dreaded the idea of being sent abroad, i.e., to Germany.

In this connexion I recall a remarkable passage in one of the depositions. Some member of the household at Tobolsk was reading out of a newspaper the statement that the Brest-Litovsk Treaty contained a clause assuring the safety of the Imperial family. The Empress broke in with an angry exclamation in French: 'I had rather die in Russia than be saved by the Germans.' (*Je préfère mourir en Russie que d'être sauvée pour les allemands.*)

It was then settled that the party with the Tsar should include: Alexandra, the Grand Duchess Marie, Prince Dolgoruky, Dr. Botkin, and the servants Chemodurov, Demidova, and Ivan Sednev. On receiving the list, Yakovlev said: 'It is all the same to me.' The soldiers were again assembled on the evening of the 25th to be informed of the Tsar's removal. To forestall any objections, a number of them were selected to accompany the party.

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The vehicles that were to convey the travellers to Tiumen, where they would find a train, did not differ from the ordinary Siberian *tarantass*—a large basket swung upon long flexible poles uniting two springless axles, the baskets being filled with straw. Into these vehicles the travellers tumbled and disposed themselves as best they could. Alexandra had a *troika*, the others a pair of horses. She beckoned to the Tsar to mount with her, but Yakovlev sent Marie to join her mother, and shared his *tarantass* with Nicholas.

The roads were terrible. No traveller who has not experienced springtime travel in Russia can have any idea of them. At some places the party had to alight and walk through deep slush. The Empress was better off than the others as she had a stronger team. Yakovlev was hurrying as fast as horseflesh could go. Relays waited at stated intervals. The travellers passed from one *tarantass* into another. It was better to lose no time as every day the roads became worse, but there was another reason: Yakovlev was evidently afraid of being stopped by the local Soviets and wished to rush past before they had had time to oppose him.

Throughout the trip he conversed with the ex-Tsar on politics, endeavouring to talk him over to a certain point of view—but the Tsar would not give way. This much the coachman who drove them could swear to, although he could not catch all the details of the conversation. He noticed that Nicholas did not 'scold the Bolsheviks,' but somebody else.

They reached Tiumen on the 28th at 9 p.m. A special train was in waiting. They started westward, but had not travelled far when at a wayside station Yakovlev heard that Ekaterinburg would intercept him. What he feared had happened. The only hope lay in circumventing Ekaterinburg. For this purpose it was necessary to return, go east as far as Omsk-Kulomzino, and thence switch on to the Cheliabinsk-Ufa railway. But he was too late. The Soviet at Ekaterinburg

had wired to Omsk that the ex-Tsar was escaping eastward, and a cordon of Red guards stopped the train at Kulomzino. Yakovlev detached the engine and went across the Irtysh to Omsk, and there, with the help of his private telegraphist, spoke with Moscow. He was ordered by Sverdlov to proceed via Ekaterinburg. As might be expected, they were met by a strong force of fanaticized Red guards at the station at Ekaterinburg (April 30). Yakovlev's authority was flouted and the escort and guards that were with him imprisoned till he had departed empty-handed on his way to Moscow. The unfortunate Romanovs thus came into the hands that were to massacre them and their belongings.

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Yakovlev had no hand in this foul conspiracy. He had been quite sincere and consistent in his efforts to bring the whole family safely to Moscow. There is no indication whatever, in all he said, that the object of this removal was to bring the Tsar to trial. On the contrary, the conversations with the Tsar, continued in the railway carriage, where, again, he was separated from Alexandra, gave additional colour to the version already given by Nicholas himself—that it was intended to restore the monarchy under certain conditions.[1] Speaking of Yakovlev, the ex-Tsar afterwards said: 'Not a bad sort —evidently sincere.' Alexandra did not cease to bewail her misfortunes, weeping over her son and her husband.

On reaching Moscow, Yakovlev must have had some doubts

[1] It must be borne in mind that the virtual ruler in Moscow was Count Mirbach (see Chapter II), the Bolshevist leaders being appointees and vassals of Germany, though, perhaps even then, secretly conspiring against their masters. Further, it is known that many influential Russians were intriguing with Mirbach (May, 1918) to restore the Monarchy. This movement collapsed because the two 'orientations' —German and Entente—could not agree. The 'Germans' wanted Alexis; the 'Ententes' favoured Michael. The original Act of Abdication was stolen from the Senate House in Petrograd by German agents in the early summer of 1917 to remove this trace of Alexis being out of the succession. Cf. also f.n. to Ch. I.

about the sincerity of the Tsik. Anyhow, he resigned his commissaryship and eventually joined the White forces, and then mysteriously disappeared. An interview with him, published in a Red organ at the time of his journey in charge of the Imperial captives, contains some very instructive features. It passes over in silence the attempt to evade Ekaterinburg and falsifies the dates of arrival and departure at Tiumen so that the glaring discrepancy between this and the arrival at Ekaterinburg (two days instead of half a day) should not be noticed ; ignores, in fact, all the local Soviet intrigues and protests, quite needlessly, that he did not mention politics in his conversation with Nicholas. Vasily Vasilievich Yakovlev had been a naval officer and was therefore of Russian noble blood. He had committed some political offence, had spent many years abroad—in Berlin. Who were his real chiefs ? It is not difficult to guess.

Two other Commissaries went to Tobolsk to remove the remainder of the family—Tatiana had been left in charge of the invalid and household. Olga, the eldest daughter, did not enjoy her mother's confidence in the same degree. She took far more interest in literature than in the practical affairs of life, and would hide herself in a corner with a book or tell stories to the soldiers, utterly forgetting domestic trifles. Anastasia, still a child, and rather backward, could be left in Tatiana's care. Marie went with the Imperial couple because she was too grown-up to remain under her sister's care. She was a very attractive girl, and it used to be rather a joke among the grand duchesses to twit her on her ' conquests ' among the Commissars.

The two successors of Yakovlev were : A sailor named Hohriakov and a certain Rodionov. The latter was afterwards identified as a former gendarme officer. He used to inspect the passports at the German frontier, and served some time in the Russian Embassy at Berlin as a spy on Russian revolutionaries. When taxed with it, he admitted the impeachment.

The sailor, a typical good-natured peasant, soon made friends with all the children. Rodionov, on the contrary, went out of his way to torment and ill-treat them. He forbade the grand duchesses to lock their doors at night, informing them with a leer that he had a perfect right to come into their rooms whenever he liked. With every appearance of enjoyment, he announced that in Ekaterinburg they would have to observe stricter rules, which he himself had devised. Hohriakov was nominally senior to Rodionov, but the latter did what he pleased.

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Here must be recorded a circumstance which was destined to play an important part in the detection of the murders of Ekaterinburg. Before separating, it had been understood between mother and daughters that they would take measures for safeguarding the jewels that had been brought with them from Tsarskoe, worth not less than a million gold roubles (£100,000). A letter from the maid Demidova from Ekaterinburg gave the necessary indications. The grand duchesses were 'to dispose of the medicines as had been agreed.' This meant that the jewels had to be secreted in the clothing in such a way as to escape search (Nicholas, Alexandra, and Marie had been 'searched' very thoroughly and brutally). For some days the grand duchesses and their trusty servants worked at the task, sewing up the valuables in their bodices, in their hats, and even inside their buttons. The Empress had few if any valuables with her—possibly because there had been no time to secrete them; but thanks to the precautions now taken, the grand duchesses managed to smuggle all that was of greatest value into their last prison-house. Womanlike, they clung to these relics of former happiness, and perhaps deep down in their hearts slumbered some hope that the gems might help them to escape.

Leaving Tobolsk by steamer on May 20, the family and household reached Ekaterinburg on the 22nd without incident.

CHAPTER VIII

VIA CRUCIS

NOTHING had been done at Ekaterinburg to prepare for the arrival of such prisoners as the ex-Tsar and his family till April 27 (i.e., two days after the spy Zaslavsky had denounced Yakovlev). The arrangements then taken consisted in requisitioning Ipatiev's house and putting a rough hoarding around it. Zaslavsky reached Ekaterinburg in company with a Russian workman named Alexander Avdeiev, who had been with him at Tobolsk and become imbued with the Jew's tale of Yakovlev's alleged treachery. In return for his support and blind subserviency, this man received the post of commandant of the new imperial prison and promises of further promotion.

Isai Goloshchekin, the intimate friend of Yankel Sverdlov, took charge of the prisoners on their arrival. Isai played the part of a Bolshevist Pooh-ba, being a Komisar many times over, but above all he loomed largely in the local *chrezvychaika*. He supervised the removal of the prisoners from their railway carriage, completely ignoring Avdeiev, and took them away in his motor-car. On reaching the Ipatiev house, Goloshchekin told the imperial trio to descend, then pointing to the door, said: 'Citizen Romanóv, you may enter.' In the same manner he let the ex-Empress and Marie pass the threshold. . . .

Prince Dolgoruky, who was of the party, did not meet with Goloshchekin's approval. 'You go to another prison,' said

he, and straightway Dolgoruky was removed, never to be seen again.

When, three weeks later, the other children and remainder of the household arrived, the same procedure was adopted. Once more Avdeiev was ignored, the person in charge being Rodionov. His brutalities at Tobolsk had earned him distinction. Here he excelled himself. It was raining heavily and the platforms were slimy with mud. He would not permit any one to help the Grand Duchesses to carry their own luggage. Nagorny, one of the imperial servants, was knocked over for daring to extend a hand to Anastasia, dragging a heavy bag.

Nobody had permission to share the new prison with the Romanovs except the physically weak or mentally undeveloped. The only exception was Dr. Botkin. Those who did not enter the house went to other prisons, the two foreigners excepted.

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The family, once more reunited, had need of all their love and faith to endure the sufferings that marked this last stage of their earthly pilgrimage. Besides them and their physician only four servants were permitted to remain—the chamber-maid Demidova, the footman Trupp, the chef Haritonov, and the boy Leonid Sednev, attendant and playmate of the sick Alexis. Chemodurov, the Tsar's valet, was transferred to the town prison from the Ipatiev house three weeks after his arrival. He survived, but his mind was affected.

This building stands at the corner of Vosnesensky Prospekt and Vosnesensky Pereulok (lane) facing a large square in which stands the church of the Ascension (Vosnesenia), a prominent landmark in the city and suburbs. It is a two-storey stone building with a garden and outhouses behind, to which access is obtained through a gateway into the square. As the lane descends steeply from the square, the lower storey is a semi-

basement in front, gradually clearing the surface of the street on the lane side. The lower floor was occupied by the guard; the prisoners lived upstairs in the corner rooms away from the stairs and entrance, which were on the gate side. Nicholas, Alexandra and Alexis shared one room facing the square; the adjoining chamber, overlooking the lane, was occupied by the Grand Duchesses. The family could not leave these two rooms except for meals, which were taken in the adjoining dining-room. Another room, divided into two halves by an arch, accommodated Dr. Botkin and Chemodurov on one side and the servants on the other. From the dining-room a door led to a terrace overlooking the garden.

Around the house, a wooden hoarding reached up to the windows of the upper floor. Soon after the prisoners arrived, another hoarding was put up, completely screening the whole house up to the eaves, and enclosing also the front entrance and gateway. There were double windows, as usual in Russian houses. Both panes were covered with whitewash, rendering it utterly impossible for the prisoners to see anything outside —even a crow flying.

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Sentries paced between the hoardings, inside the garden, and were stationed at the stairs, beside the lavatory and on the terrace. Here, and at other convenient points, machine-guns were posted. The prisoners were in a trap from which there was no escape. The awful thing about it was the constant surveillance, by day and night. There was no privacy, not even for the girls—no consideration for decency or modesty. The Ekaterinburg period was one long martyrdom for the Romanovs, growing worse—with one short interval—as the hour of their death approached. Their guards, at first, were Russians, who, brutal as they were, never attained the fiendish ingenuity in tormenting their helpless captives that came to

be displayed by the alien guards and executioners of the final week.

There had been no provision for guarding the house—another proof that the prisoners had not been intended for Ekaterinburg. After the first few days, a regular guard was organized from workmen employed at the local mills and iron works. Alexander Avdeiev received the style of 'Commandant of the Special Purpose House'—such was the name of the imperial prison. His assistants were Alexander Moshkin and Pavel Medvedev, both workmen and Russians. Avdeiev and his particular friends among the guards lived upstairs in the ante-room and another chamber facing the square. They were, consequently, in immediate proximity to the prisoners. No pen can describe what this meant.

The men were coarse, drunken, criminal types, such as a revolution brings to the surface. They entered the prisoners' rooms whenever they thought fit, at all hours, prying with drunken, leering eyes into everything that they might be doing. Their mere presence was an offence; but picture the torments of the captives to have to put up with their loathsome familiarities! They would sit down at the table when the prisoners ate, put their dirty hands into the plates, spit, jostle and reach in front of the prisoners. Their greasy elbows would be thrust, by accident or design, into the ex-Tsar's face. Alexandra was, of course, a special object of attention. They would crowd round her chair, lolling in such a manner that any movement on her part brought her in contact with their evil-smelling bodies.

* * * * *

Prison fare of the poorest kind was provided. Breakfast comprised stale black bread from the day before, with tea—no sugar. For dinner they had thin soup and meat, the latter of doubtful quality. The ex-Empress could eat nothing except macaroni.

The table-cover was a greasy oilcloth. There were not knives or forks or even plates enough to go round. All ate with wooden spoons out of one common dish. By the Emperor's wish the servants sat at table with the family.

The guards sang revolutionary songs devised to hurt and shock the feelings of the prisoners, containing foul words such as no man should dare to utter in the presence of innocent girls; but the revolutionary warriors delighted in wounding the modesty of the Grand Duchesses in this and in other still more repulsive ways, by filthy scribbling and drawings on the walls and by crowding round the lavatory—there was only one for the prisoners and the warders. They went reeling about the house, smoking cigarettes, unkempt, dishevelled, shameless, inspiring terror and loathing. They did not scruple to help themselves liberally to the clothes and other property of the prisoners whenever anything came within their reach.

Only a quarter of an hour was allowed to the prisoners in the open air. No physical work was permitted. The ex-Tsar felt this privation very much. Alexandra suffered terribly. Her son remained an invalid, unable to walk. The family seemed to be overwhelmed by grief. But their faith in God and their love for each other illuminated the gloom of this awful prison. Above the ribald songs of their tormentors might be heard the chanting of the Song of Cherubim, the Russian hymn of praise.

* * * * *

Now we come to the final phase that preceded the murder. It is full of significance. Every step taken by the occult powers of the Ekaterinburg *chrezvychaika*, which, it must be remembered, did nothing without orders from the central institutions in Moscow—Sverdlov being in direct communication with Goloshchekin—falls into its natural appointed place as part of the cruel fate reserved for the Romanov family.

The monsters who had been placed in charge of the prisoners —as if on purpose to torment them through the agency of Russians—did not fulfil their mission to the end. Even they became humanized by the spectacle of the sufferings and the patience and humility of their former sovereigns—not all of them, of course, but certainly a majority, including their commandant, Avdeiev.

One of these men afterwards related how the change came over him. He had begun with hatred in his heart. The Tsar was the head of the capitalistic system, the greatest capitalist of them all. To destroy him was to destroy capitalism itself—the Social-Democratic programme had made it all so plain to him. He watched the crowned enemy of mankind, the 'drinker of the people's blood,' as he walked about the garden, and listened to him exchanging simple, homely words with the other warders. His notions began to waver. This was not a bad man: he was so human, so kindly, just a man like other men, and even better. Then the idea occurred to him that it was wrong to desire his death. What harm could he do? Why not let him escape! Yes, it would be much better if he went away, and the children, too; they had done no harm, and the Tsaritsa also. She was proud. Not simple and homely, like the Tsar; but let her also go. If she had done harm, she had also suffered.

This man repented of the evil he and his fellows were doing. He would sing no more lewd songs, and tried to dissuade the others. Rapidly the whole of the guard—workmen from the Lokalov and Syssert companies' plants—were becoming disaffected.

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Towards the end of June a secret emissary of one of the Monarchist organizations called upon the Bishop of Ekaterinburg and tried to get into communication with the Imperial prisoners through the clergy; but this proved to be im-

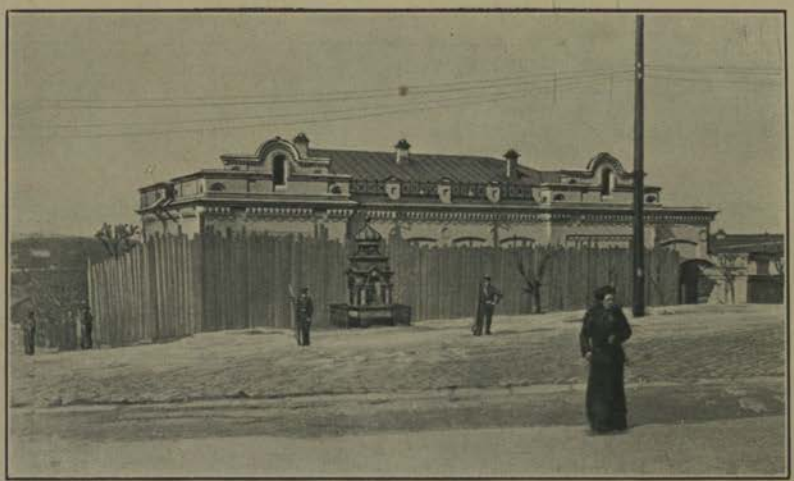
PLATE IV

IPATIEV'S HOUSE IN EKATERINBURG

This photograph was taken in May, 1918, directly after the arrival of Nicholas, Alexandra and Marie. Their gaolers had had time to put up the inner hoarding only. The outer hoarding, erected later, enclosed the gateway and approaches to the house. Machine-guns were mounted at different points within the enclosure and in the garret. Note the shrine on the left.

THE CHAMBER OF DEATH

A vaulted, semi-basement, 18 feet by 16 feet. Photographed from the spot where the German, so-called 'Lett,' soldiers stood while firing their revolvers. The Tsar and his son sat in the centre of the room, and behind them was the Empress, also seated. The other victims stood at the further wall.



IPATIEV'S HOUSE

THE CHAMBER OF DEATH

possible. He then proposed that, at all events, some food and comforts should be sent to the prison-house. Dr. Derevenko, who had been permitted to remain in the city, gave his assistance at this juncture. By some means he was in touch with the warders. Avdeiev agreed to take in milk and other provisions if they reached the house without attracting notice. The nuns of the monastery thereupon sent two novices, dressed in lay garments, to the house, with all manner of dairy produce. Avdeiev received them himself. These journeys became frequent. The poor captives felt comforted, morally and physically. They had not been forgotten, and the men who had been so terrible were so much kinder. Hope once more blossomed. The Grand Duchesses looked bright and cheerful, 'as if ready to smile,' says a person who saw them at this time. The nuns, emboldened by Avdeiev's attitude, brought even some tobacco for the ex-Tsar. Avdeiev referred to him as 'the Emperor.'

* * * * *

In the beginning of July some suspicions must have arisen among the Jewish camarilla, or perhaps Moscow had received 'information.' As the time was getting ripe for 'action,' no doubt steps had been taken to verify the arrangements, and the discovery of disaffection among the Russian guards followed. Avdeiev was at once dismissed, the Russian guards moved out of the house into premises on the opposite side of the lane, and, with one exception, forbidden to come into the house. This exception was Pavel Medvedev. He retained his post as chief warder. The Russian guard continued to provide sentries for the outside posts only. They could do no harm there, and served to throw dust in the eyes of the public.

All these changes were carried out by the new commandant, a person with whom the reader is already acquainted, namely, Yankel Yurovsky, the son of a Jew convict, himself a mystery

man, having obtained money in Germany for unexplained 'services,' and presently one of the chiefs of the local *chrezvychaika*. Yankel brought with him a squad of ten 'Letts' —as the Russians called them—to mount guard inside the prison-house and take charge of the machine-gun posts. These men were the hired assassins of the red *okhrana*. They were not Letts but Magyars, some of them really Magyarized Germans. It must be remembered that Siberia was Sovietized from the east, not by Russians in the first place, but by the soldiers of Wilhelm and his Austrian henchmen, who acted under the orders from the two Kaisers. These so-called Letts had entered the service of the *chrezvychaika* after helping to carry out the German design to undermine Russia.

Innumerable evidences prove that the new-comers are correctly classified. The Russian guards could tell by their speech that they were foreigners. To designate them as Letts was quite natural because the Letts formed the backbone and bulk of the foreign mercenaries of Sovietdom and therefore any non-Russian Red-guard became a 'Lett.' But, as a matter of fact, the Magyars resemble Letts in their appearance and accent. Yurovsky spoke to them in a foreign language. Besides Russian and Yiddish he knew only German. Among the papers found afterwards in the prison-house was an unfinished letter to his 'Tereschen' from one of the 'Letts.' It was in Magyar, but, according to the findings of experts, the writer was evidently a German. He used capital letters for substantives, often employed Gothic characters and made glaring blunders in grammar, such as no Magyar would make.

Another of the 'Letts' left a still more eloquent evidence of his nationality. This man had stood on guard on the terrace communicating with the dining-room and overlooking the garden—a very important post with a machine-gun

capable of sweeping the interior of the house and all the approaches from the garden side. On the very day before the murder, this man wrote in pencil on the wall of the house a record of his service as follows :—

Verhás András
Örsegen 1918 VII/15

Alongside this inscription he had tried to write the Russian equivalent, but could not spell out the word ' karaul ' (guard duty), in Magyar *örsegen*. Scraps of paper on which other ' Letts ' had practised writing Russian words were also found.

We are able to fix the date approximately when the German-Magyar guard and Yurovsky took possession. The lay sisters bringing their usual offerings met with a strange reception on or about July 10—about a week before the murder. Avdeiev did not come out to them. Some of the Russian guards, whom they knew, were standing near the door, looking very much confused, and at first not disposed to take charge of the gifts. Finally, however, they did so. The sisters then walked away. Presently the soldiers came running after them. ' Please, will you come back,' they said. The nuns returned. An individual whom they afterwards identified as Yurovsky, inquired by whose authority they had brought the provisions. ' Avdeiev and Derevenko,' was the truthful reply. ' Oh, they are both in it, are they,' he remarked ominously. He nevertheless permitted them to come again, ' but with milk only.'

* * * * *

This last week of their lives must have been the most dreadful one of all for the Romanovs. Brutal and bestial as the Russians had been in the early part of their wardenship, they were preferable, even at their worst, to the silent relentless torture applied by Yurovsky, who also was a drunkard. He and his band watched them literally like a cat watches a mouse. He was polite to the Tsar and spoke softly to Alexis ; he even

permitted a priest to come and say prayers, which comforted Alexandra and the poor captives unspeakably; yet there is evidence that never had they looked so utterly, hopelessly wretched as under the tutelage of the Jew. This man's brothers and sisters describe him as a 'cruel tyrant who would not hesitate at anything to attain his ends.'

* * * * *

The man and his executioners only waited for the signal that was to come from Yankel Sverdlov. Everything was ready for the murder. The victims had been adequately tortured. Goloshchekin, the Jew Sadist, licked his lips in pleasurable anticipation.

CHAPTER IX

CALVARY

YANKEL YUROVSKY left the prison-house on several occasions. Each absence lasted many hours. He was surveying the environs of the city for a convenient place to dispose of the bodies of his victims. His escort consisted of one or two of the 'Letts' mounted on horseback. Several witnesses deposed to meeting him and his bodyguard in the woods during the week that preceded the murder. They were seen near the very spot where the remains were afterwards destroyed.

Whenever he had to absent himself, Yurovsky placed Medvedev in charge. Besides the latter, there was another non-'Lett' in the house, a certain Nikulin, respecting whom it is known that he came with Yurovsky from the *chrezvychaika*. He enjoyed Yurovsky's entire confidence, and was probably there to keep an eye on Medvedev.

On Monday, July 15, the lay sisters came as usual in the morning with milk for the Imperial Family. Yankel took it himself, and graciously informed them that on the morrow they might bring half a hundred eggs. This they did gladly, thinking that the poor captives would enjoy a hearty meal, all unsuspicious of the cynical intention that had prompted Yurovsky's generosity. (These eggs were boiled by Haritonov, but they were eaten, not in Ipatiev's house, but in the woods.)

* * * * *

On the Tuesday morning, a whole nine days before the

arrival of the Czechs, Yurovsky made his final arrangements for the murder of the family. The boy Leonid Sednev was removed early in the day to Popov's house across the lane, whither the Russian guards had been transferred. There he was seen sitting on the window-sill and crying bitterly; whether because he was dull without his play-fellow or had some inkling of his fate is not known. The boy disappeared, never to be seen again. Later this gave rise to rumours that Yurovsky had been told to reserve him for future use, perhaps to impersonate his little friend the Tsarevich—in short, to act the part of a False Dmitri.

Two important visitors came to the prison-house during the day—namely, the arch-inquisitor, Isai Goloshchekin, and his humble servant, the Russian workman Beloborodov, president of the regional Soviet. They took Yurovsky away in their automobile to some place unspecified, presumably to a meeting of the Soviet Presidium (Board). Yurovsky returned some hours later, towards evening.

At 7 p.m. Yurovsky gave orders to Medvedev to collect all the revolvers of the outer guard. Medvedev complied. He brought twelve Nagans (the Nagan is the Russian service revolver) to the commandant's room and handed them to Yurovsky. The latter then confided to him the plan to shoot the whole 'Tsarian family' that night. He (Medvedev) would have to warn the Russian guards 'later,' when he got word to do so. Meanwhile he must be silent. At nightfall (about 10.30 p.m. in these latitudes in summer time) Medvedev 'told the Russians.' The murderers were to be the 'Letts.'

There is no record of any open protests on the part of these men, who had been 'disgraced' only a few days ago for their 'friendliness' to the 'arch-capitalist' and 'drinker of blood.' There is nothing to be surprised at. Beloborodov had been rendered 'amenable,' because he had 'stolen'; here the crimes laid to these men's charge were not only pilfering,

but 'counter-revolution.' They knew—and we may be sure they were made to feel—that the *chrezvychaika* would know how to deal with them if they showed truculence. Having 'warned' the Russians, Medvedev returned to the commandant.

Two other strangers now made their appearance. One of them was Peter Ermakov, 'military komisar' of the Verkh-Isetsk Ironworks; the other, his assistant, a sailor named Vaganov. Both these men had distinguished themselves by their ferocity. They were professional assassins, 'working' for the Red inquisition out of sheer blood-lust. But there was another reason for inviting these butchers to the approaching feast of blood. They were both to play a leading part in the 'disposal' of the bodies. Both were friends of Yurovsky. With him they had already, some days earlier, studied and arranged the whole grisly performance.

* * * * *

When midnight by solar time had gone some minutes, Yurovsky went to the Imperial chambers. The family slept. He woke them up, and told them that there were urgent reasons why they should be at once removed; that there was trouble in the city which might endanger their lives, and that they must dress quickly and come downstairs. All rose, washed and dressed themselves, the Grand Duchesses donning their jewel-stuffed garments. Each member of the family and their followers put on his or her going-out clothes and headgear. The Empress wore her overcoat. Some of the prisoners even took their pillows—for comfort's sake or because they had precious possessions secreted within.

Yurovsky led the way downstairs; the family and suite followed. Alexis could not walk. His father carried him in his arms. Dr. Eugene Sergeievich Botkin came directly after the family, and after him came the chamber-maid Demidova, the cook Haritonov, and the footman Trupp.

The procession descended by the back stairs leading from the upper to the ground floor. The door from the lower landing (by the kitchen) to the rooms of the ground floor had been boarded up to prevent direct communication between their former occupants—the Russian guards—and the prisoners. One had to go into the yard and then enter the lower floor by a separate doorway. This was the route followed by Yurovsky and his victims. The motor-lorry that had come for the bodies waited outside the gate of this very courtyard, and in the dim light of the northern midnight the prisoners could probably see the vehicle and must have felt reassured, even if any suspicion of their imminent end had assailed their minds.

Still following Yurovsky, they traversed all the rooms of the lower floor, now tenanted only by 'Letts,' and came at last to the small lobby adjoining the front entrance on the lane (pereulok) side. This lobby was lighted by a small window, heavily grated, looking into the garden. Outside stood a sentry with a machine-gun. He could see everything that went on inside, especially when the interior was lit up for the execution. This man's account played an important part in assembling and corroborating the various depositions dealing with the murder. Opposite the window, a door leads into a small chamber (18 ft. by 16 ft.) with a heavily grilled double window facing the lane. Here also stood sentries outside, able to see what was going on within. This chamber is partly basement. The guards had used it as a dormitory. A locked door led into a basement chamber situated immediately under the Tsar's prison-room. This corner basement was a store-room where some of the imperial belongings had been deposited—and pilfered. There was no escape in that direction. Besides, there were double barriers outside, intercepting sight and sound.

The family and their followers were ushered into the semi-

YANKEL (JACOB) SVERDLOV

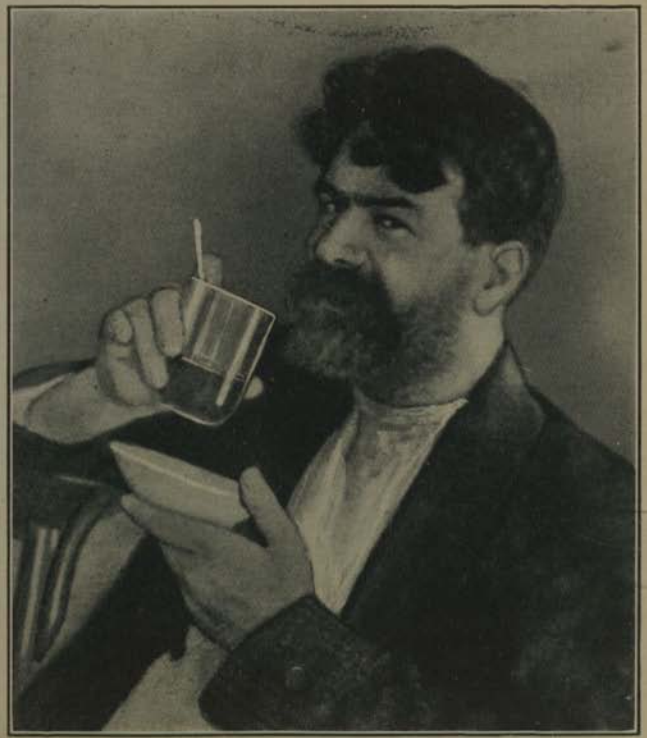
The Red Tsar

He organized the murder of the Romanov family, and was killed by Russian Workmen. He wears a short shirt and shabby overcoat. Bolshevism had ruined the industries of the country. Only the cap of expensive fur befits the high office of the wearer. He was President of the 'Tsik,' *i.e.*, Prime Minister and ruler of the Red Inquisition. He poses with his portfolio at the entrance of his palatial offices in the Hotel Metropole in Moscow, the square in front of which is named after him.

YANKEL YUROVSKY, THE MURDERER

He shot the Tsar and the Tsarevich with his own hand.

SVERDLOV—THE RED TSAR
(Copyright Photo)



YUROVSKY—THE MURDERER

PLATE V

ent chamber and told to wait. They were not suspicious. not occur to them that they were in a trap. As the as bare of furniture, the Tsar asked to have some chairs t. He wished the suffering Empress to rest and the oy to sit down. Three chairs were brought in. One passed to Alexandra, who had been leaning against the l facing the lobby. Nicholas seated Alexis where he had n standing, in the middle of the room, and sat down beside A pillow was placed behind Alexandra. Two other ws remained in Demidova's arms. The Tsar and the revich kept their caps on, as if expecting any moment go out. They thought the vehicles that were to convey m away had not arrived, the lorry being there to take the gage. On the Empress's right stood three of her daughters, n her left the other daughter and Demidova.

At most immediately the door into the lobby was obstructed Yurovsky, his friends and the 'Letts.' There were ulin, Ermakov, Vaganov, Medvedev and seven 'Letts' remaining three being on guard duty. There were lve murderers. Each carried a revolver. The rifles of 'Lett' guard were stacked in the adjoining room (where lived).

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Yurovsky advanced into the death-chamber and addressed Tsar. There are many versions of this utterance. According the most trustworthy one, he said: 'Your relatives have ed to save you. But it could not be managed by them, and we ourselves are compelled to shoot you.'

The twelve revolvers volleyed instantly, and all the prisoners ll to the ground. Death had been instantaneous in the case the parents and three of the children, and of Dr. Botkin nd two servants. Alexis remained alive in spite of his wounds, nd moaned and struggled in his agony. Yurovsky finished

him with his Colt. One of the girls—presumably the youngest Grand Duchess, Anastasia—rolled about and screamed, and, when one of the murderers approached, fought desperately with him till he killed her. It seems as if the murderers had not been able to aim straight at the boy and girl. Even their callous hearts had wavered. The maid-servant lived the longest. Perhaps the pillows were in the way. She was not touched by the first volley, and ran about screaming till some of the 'Letts,' seizing their rifles, bayoneted her to death. She was covered with stabs. Poor Demidova died the victim of a misunderstanding; the Reds thought that she was a maid-of-honour and therefore a bourgeoise, whereas she was a simple peasant girl.

Within a few minutes of their entering the room, all was over. No time was to be lost in removing traces of the crime. The floors and walls had to be washed quickly and the bodies sent away. Daylight would soon appear. There was a long way to go through the city. Hardened and ruthless, secure in the impunity of murder under the Soviet system, Yurovsky and his associates were none the less hurrying desperately. They knew that the arrangements for 'executing' the Romanovs could not be regarded as a trial, nor would the people approve the deed. And so like common murderers, they were desperately anxious to get rid of the corpses. Here Ermakov and Vaganov became invaluable.

* * * * *

The evidence of three eye-witnesses is given below, namely of Medvedev, one of the actual murderers, of Yakimov, who was present at the shooting, and of a Red Guard named Proskuriakov, who helped to remove traces of the murder. The necessary comments of the investigating magistrate accompany the depositions so that the reader is able to study them in their true perspective.

Medvedev told his wife all about it directly after the murder.

He did not conceal the fact that he himself had fired his revolver at the Romanovs. He even emphasized his active complicity, boasting that he was the only Russian 'workman' who had taken part in the shooting, and that all the others, besides Yurovsky and his assistants, were 'not ours'—i.e., foreigners. Medvedev was caught at Perm while trying to blow up the bridge over the Kama to cover the retreat of the Red Army. He confirmed all the statements that he had made to his wife, except in one particular: he denied having stated that he had himself done the shooting. It is a customary reservation in the case of all who take part in a joint and prearranged murder. The witness testifies to the fact of the murder and names the actual murderers, but persists in declaring that he himself did not do the killing, although he admits to holding a revolver in his hand at the time of the shooting. To divert the evidence from himself he had to invent an *alibi*. Hear what he says in his signed deposition:—

'Yurovsky sent me out, saying, "Go into the street; see if there is any one about and if the shots can be heard." I went out into the yard surrounded by the big fence' (he means the space between the outside wall and the hoardings), 'and, before I had time to reach the street, heard the sound of the firing. I returned at once inside the house—only two or three minutes had passed—and, entering the room where the shooting had been carried out, I saw that all the members of the Tsar's family—the Tsar, the Tsaritsa, the four daughters, and the Naslednik (heir), were already lying on the floor with numerous wounds on their bodies, and the blood was flowing in torrents. The doctor, maid, and two men-servants had also been killed. When I appeared the Naslednik was still alive, groaning. Yurovsky went up to him and fired two or three times point-blank into him. The Naslednik was still. The picture of the murder, the smell and sight of the blood, caused me to feel sick. . . .'

* * * * *

Anatoly Yakimov, the second witness, is the man who had become 'converted' after remaining a few weeks with the Tsar. He had been a sergeant of the Russian Guard, and remained so after the Russians had been relegated to the outer posts. It was his business to place the sentries and see that they remained at their posts. As the Russian sentries could see into the room where the murdering was to be done, it had not been possible to keep them in ignorance to the end, as explained above. Yakimov 'sympathized' with the prisoners, but he did not dare to give effect to these feelings. There is good reason to believe that he was present at the murder. Possibly Yurovsky had insisted upon his being inside the house at the time, in order to implicate him in the deed. His *alibi* bears a family likeness to Medvedev's. Like him, he had a full, circumstantial knowledge of the killing that corroborates Medvedev in every essential point, and that could not have come to him unless he had been actually present. He explains that it was all told to him by the sentries —two men who stood outside the death-chamber window and two others who were in the courtyard when the bodies were removed.

He also unburdened himself to his family. According to his own account, he heard of the murder at four o'clock in the morning, after which he could not sleep, but 'just sat and shivered,' as he says. At eight o'clock he went to his sister, a woman of some education, who was married to Agafonov, an official of the Commissariat of Justice. Here is what his sister deposes: 'He came in without saying a word, looking dreadfully upset and exhausted. I noticed it at once and asked him: "What is the matter with you?" He requested me to close the door, sat down and kept silent, his face convulsed with terror and his body trembling violently. I again asked him: "What ails you?" I thought that some great misfortune

had overtaken him. He still maintained an obstinate silence, although it evidently caused him suffering. The thought occurred to me: "Maybe they have killed Nicholas." I asked him if it was so. My brother answered something like: "It is all over," and in reply to my further questions he said that all had been killed—i.e., the Tsar himself and all his family, and all who had been with them excepting their little scullion. I do not recall my asking him if he had taken part in the murder, but I remember his saying that he had seen the spectacle of the murder with his own eyes. He related how this sight had so shaken him that he could not hold out, and every now and then had gone out of the house into the open air, adding that his comrades in the guard had upbraided him for it, suspecting him of feeling repentance or pity. . . . I then understood him to mean that he had been himself in the room, or so near that he could see the actual murder with his own eyes.'

* * * * *

Here are two corroborative depositions of interest. When Yakimov had left his sister, she immediately ran out to her husband's office. An investigating magistrate named Tomashevsky was in the next room, and saw her standing, weeping, and whispering to her husband. When she had gone, Agafonov came and told this same story in confidence to Tomashevsky. Agafonov saw Yakimov later in the day, and relates what transpired: 'Yakimov came to take leave. [He was going to the front.] I was struck by his appearance: the face pinched, the pupils distended, the lower lip quivering when he spoke. The mere sight of him convinced me that all that my wife had said was true. Clearly, Anatoly had passed through some terrible experience during the night. . . . I only asked him: "How are things?" He replied, "It is all over"' (*vsĕ kóncheno*).

Philip Proskuriakov—a youngster, the type of the good-natured peasant—deposed that he had entered the guard at Ipatiev's house principally because he was curious to have a look at the Tsar; not because he felt hostile to him; indeed, if he disliked anybody it was the Jews. His narrative impressed the investigating magistrate by its evident sincerity. He did not see the actual murder, having spent the evening with some friends and taken copious draughts of 'denaturat' (methylated spirits, which were in vogue since the prohibition of vodka), and as a result of these libations, Medvedev had placed him under arrest. He was locked up in the bath-house and sleeping off his 'spree' when Medvedev came to wake him and order him to go into the house.

The bodies had been taken out just before he reached the death-chamber. Everything that happened in the house immediately afterwards came under his personal observation. He washed the blood off the floor and the walls. That he positively admits. He discussed the details of the murder with Andrel Strekotin, one of the guards, who enjoyed Medvedev's friendship and had been selected by him to stand at the lower-floor machine-gun post during the 'execution.' This same Strekotin also related his observations to one of his brother-guards named Letemin, arrested later and found to be in possession of a whole collection of valuables belonging to the family and Alexis' spaniel Joy (afterwards brought to England). Letemin's version agreed with Proskuriakov's rendering of the Strekotin eye-witness account. What is still more important, Proskuriakov heard also Medvedev relate the story of the killing.

Medvedev told it to all the guards who, with Proskuriakov, were washing the floor: 'Pashka (Paval—i.e., Medvedev) himself related that he had loosed off two or three bullets at the *gosukar* (the lord—i.e., the Tsar) and at other persons. . . . I am telling the honest truth. He did not say anything

at all about his not having fired himself on account of being sent outside to listen to the shots. . . . That is a lie ! '

* * * * *

One pathetic incident escaped the notice of all these witnesses. The Grand Duchess Anastasia took with her a King Charles spaniel, carrying it in her arms into the death-room. The corpse of little Jemmy was found above a heap of cinders—all that remained of the family that had loved her and shared with her their meagre fare. The murderers had knocked the faithful friend on the head and thrown the body down the iron-pit without troubling to burn it. Even in her death the little dog watched over them, and her mangled remains, still recognizable, brought final unmistakable proof of the end of the family.

CHAPTER X

'WITHOUT TRACE'

THERE has probably not been another instance in the whole history of crime of precautions to escape detection half so elaborate as in the Romanov murder case. All sorts of subterfuges have been tried by lesser criminals with more or less success. Here every ruse was combined.

The murderers carried out the following comprehensive programme: (1) They gave out a false announcement of the 'execution'; (2) they destroyed the bodies; (3) they invented a mock funeral; and (4) they staged a mock trial.

The thoroughness of the methods reminds one of their masters, the Germans. It is a case of '*spurlos*.' However, in this, as in the other instance, detection followed. The criminal always gives himself away. The very complexity of the Soviet 'precautions' proved their undoing.

In vain they drew innumerable herrings of their own colour over the trail, suborning false witnesses to give misleading information about the whereabouts of the bodies, announcing officially that the family had been removed to 'a safe place,' etc. Sokolov has run them into the open.

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The murder accomplished, all the bodies were carried into the courtyard and placed on the waiting lorry. The corpses were not subjected to a thorough search—as we shall see—because Yurovsky was anxious to get away from the city before daybreak. They were rolled up in old coats

and covered with mats to conceal the 'cargo' from prying eyes. Yankel Yurovsky, Ermakov and Vaganov went with them.

As soon as they had gone, Medvedev summoned the Russians to 'wash up.' They had not been trusted to do the other work, and Yankel had even deprived them of their revolvers—the 'Letts' had their own—perhaps because he did not feel quite sure how they might behave during the murder. Even now, Medvedev, his henchman, called up the Sysert workmen—his own particular friends—to remove the tell-tale traces of the crime. They washed and swabbed the floor and the walls in the death-chamber and in the other rooms through which the bodies had been borne. (So much blood had flowed that the marks of the red-stained swab were distinctly visible a year later when I visited Ipatiev's house, and experts found unmistakable evidence of its being human blood.) The stones in the courtyard were also scoured.

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Meanwhile the lorry, with its tragic burden, was making its way to the appointed place in the woods, a remote corner of some disused iron-mines, once the property of Countess Nadezhda Alexeievna Stenbok-Fermor and now of the Verkh-Isetsky Works. This place is situated north-east of the Perm and Ural railway lines, about eleven miles out of the city, near the forest road leading to the village of Koptiaki.

Ermakov (military komisar for the district) placed a cordon of Red Guards all round the wood. During that and the two following days and nights all passage through it was stopped. As will be seen later, this 'precaution' defeated its purpose.

* * * * *

Let us return for a few days to Ekaterinburg. Yankel Yurovsky had reappeared in the death-house in the morning of July 17. None of the Russian guards knew where he had been. Medvedev had heard vaguely that he had 'gone

to the woods.' At the same time there appeared the reprieved thief Beloborodov and his master, Isai Goloshchekin.

The movables belonging to the murdered family went to satisfy their rapacious instincts. Some of the witnesses describe tables laden with precious stones, jewellery, and all sorts of other articles scattered about the Commandant's room. Everything had been ransacked, and what was not found to be worth keeping was thrown away or destroyed in the fireplaces, which were blazing despite the summer heat.

Yurovsky and Goloshchekin travelled by motor-car to the woods on the 17th, 18th and 19th, remaining for many hours —in fact whole days—at the iron-pits. But all this time the sentries were on duty outside the death-house as if nothing had happened, so that the people should suspect nothing. They were removed only on the fourth day, when the cordon around the wood was also raised.

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Only then (on July 20) was the announcement made at Red meetings and in official proclamations that 'Nicholas the Sanguinary' had been executed. The news was simultaneously transmitted by the wireless stations of the Bolshevist Government, and appeared in *The Times* of July 22 (1918) in the following form :—

At the first session of the Central Executive Committee elected by the Fifth Congress of the Councils a message was made public, received by direct wire from the Ural Regional Council, concerning the shooting of the ex-Tsar, Nicholas Romanov.

Recently Ekaterinburg, the capital of the Red Ural, was seriously threatened by the approach of the Czecho-Slovak bands. At the same time a counter-revolutionary conspiracy was discovered, having for its object the wresting of the tyrant from the hands of the Council's authority by armed force. In view of this fact, the President of the Ural Regional Council decided to shoot the ex-Tsar, Nicholas Romanov. This decision was carried out on July 16.

The wife and son of Romanov have been sent to a place of security. Documents concerning the conspiracy which were discovered have been forwarded to Moscow by a special messenger.

It had been recently decided to bring the ex-Tsar before a tribunal, to be tried for his crimes against the people, and only later occurrences

led to delay in adopting this course. The Presidency of the Central Executive Committee, after having discussed the circumstances which compelled the Ural Regional Council to take the decision to shoot Nicholas Romanov, decided as follows: The Russian Central Executive Committee, in the persons of the Presidium, accept the decision of the Ural Regional Council as being regular.

The Central Executive Committee has now at its disposal extremely important material concerning the Nicholas Romanov affair: his own diaries, which he kept almost to the last days; the diaries of his wife and children; his correspondence, amongst which are letters by Gregory Rasputin to Romanov and his family. All these materials will be examined and published in the near future.

Every word of this official statement is important, for every phrase contains a lie, and every lie shows up in more glaring colours the diabolical nature of the plot hatched and carried out by Yankel Sverdlov and his tools and accomplices. I take the falsehoods *seriatim*: (1) The message made public at the Tsik as coming from the Ural sovdep was in reality concocted by Sverdlov; (2) the Czechs entered Ekaterinburg on the 25th, nine days after the 'execution,' and there was no armed plot; (3) the Presidium of the Ural sovdep did not 'decide' to shoot the ex-Tsar, for that 'decision' was dictated from Moscow; (4) the 'wife and son' were not sent to 'a place of security,' but were basely murdered; (5) no 'later occurrences' supervened that could by any stress of the imagination be construed into a justification for not bringing the ex-Tsar before a tribunal, even supposing there had ever been any real intention to do so (as a matter of fact, this story of a 'tribunal' was invented); (6) the Imperial correspondence taken with other 'loot'[1] from the murdered Family has *not* been published to this day.

[1] Up to date (August, 1920), the only information that has reached the world respecting the Imperial Family's private papers, removed to Moscow after their death, is contained in three short telegrams published in *The Times* of August 16, August 28 and September 28, 1918.

The first gives an extract of the Tsar's diary for March 2–15, the day of his abdication at Pskov:—

'General Ruzsky came this morning and read to me a long conversation which he had had on the telephone with Rodzianko, according

Here is a translation of the official announcement as it was made to the people of Ekaterinburg :—

DECISION

of the Presidium of the Regional Soviet of Workmen's, Peasants' and Redguards' Deputies of the Ural.

In view of the fact that Czecho-Slovak bands are threatening the Red capital of the Urals, Ekaterinburg ; in view also that the fact that the crowned hangman (*palách*) may escape the people's assizes (a Whiteguard plot to capture the whole Romanov family has been discovered), the Presidium of the Regional Soviet in fulfilment of the will of the revolution has decided (*postanovil*) that the former Tsar, Nicholas Romanov, guilty before the people of innumerable sanguinary crimes, shall be shot.

On the night of the 16th to the 17th of July, the decision (*postanovlenie*) of the Regional Soviet was carried into execution.

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to which the situation at Petrograd is such that a Cabinet of members of the Duma will be unable to do anything because against it are fighting the Socialist Parties in the shape of workmen's committees. My abdication is necessary. Ruzsky has transmitted this conversation to General Headquarters, and Alexeiev passed it on to all the Commanders-in-Chief. At 12.30 came answers from all, the sense of which is that, to save Russia and keep the Army at the front quiet, I must make up my mind to this step. I have consented. From G.H.Q. they have sent a draft of a manifesto. In the evening arrived from Petrograd Guchkov and Shulgin, with whom I had a long talk, and handed them the signed manifesto, as altered (i.e., renouncing the Tsarevich's rights as well—the Tsar's own decision). At 1 o'clock in the morning left Pskov with a heavy feeling, due to all I have lived through. Am surrounded by treachery, cowardice and deceit.'

The second reproduces a letter dated January 14, 1916, from the Empress Marie to 'Niki,' complaining of Witte's delay in summoning the Duma, bids the Tsar be strong, congratulating him on his 'new spirit.' On April 5 (at Tsarskoe) the Tsar in his diary speaks of preparations to go to England, and says that news of this proposal was communicated to him by Prince Lvov and Kerensky.

The third merely enumerates the other documents seized by the Soviet: 'The diaries of the Empress and her daughters, notes by the Tsarevich, over 5,000 letters of the correspondence of the Tsar with his wife, with the Kaiser and other sovereigns, with Rasputin and divers official personages, also with his father Alexander III between 1877 and 1894.'

Lastly, the *Manchester Guardian* (of July 1, 1920) published from its Moscow correspondent a summary of Alexandra's letters to Nicholas II, copies of which (the originals having disappeared) had been secretly lent to him by a member of the Soviet Government. The extracts quoted by him do not shed any new light on her life and character.

The family of Romanov has been transferred from Ekaterinburg to another and safer place.

The Presidium of the Reg. Soviet of W., P., and R. Dep. of the Ural.

DECISION

of the Presidium of the All-Russian Centr. Ex. Com. of 18th July, A.C.

The All-Russian Centr. Ex. Com. of Soviets of W., P., R. and Cossack Deputies in the person of its Presidium approves the action of the Presidium of the Reg. Sov. of the Ural.

The President of the Tsik, Y. Sverdlov.

The discrepancies between the Moscow and the Ekaterinburg announcements are interesting. The date of the Tsik's 'decision' was kept secret for two days after its ostensible issue. As a matter of fact, the whole murder had been directed from Moscow, and even the text of the 'announcement' had been previously approved by Sverdlov, so it is not surprising that Beloborodov disregarded dates. But the real reason was that the Red chieftains feared the people and, above all, sought to obscure the facts.

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I now return to the woods. On the 17th, 18th and 19th large quantities of petrol and sulphuric acid were taken from the city to the iron-pits; at least 150 gallons of the former and 11 pouds (400 lb.) of the latter. Ekaterinburg being the centre of the platinum industry required large stocks of sulphuric acid to generate the intense heat necessary for melting this hardest of metals. The Komisar of Supplies was Volkov, ex-passenger in Lenin's German train. He it was who furnished the acid to Yurovsky as his friend Sverdlov's agent. (I remember I wanted to order a platinum ring at a local jeweller's during my stay in the city. He could not carry out the order because there was no sulphuric acid 'since the previous year.')

There is not the shadow of a doubt as to what happened around the iron-pit, as the reader will convince himself after reading the next chapter. Yurovsky's acolytes cut up the

bodies, steeped them in petrol, and burned them. The sulphuric acid was used to dissolve the larger bones.

I have spoken of the mock funeral invented by the murderers to deceive public opinion in Russia and abroad. Here is the telegram that appeared in the Press on September 23, 1918 :—

AMSTERDAM, Sept. 22.—According to a telegram from Moscow, the *Izvestua* gives the following description of the obsequies of the ex-Tsar, which, according to newspaper reports, were solemnly carried out by troops of the People's Army (*sic*) at Ekaterinburg.

' The body of the ex-Tsar, which had been buried in a wood at the place of execution, was exhumed, the grave having been found through information supplied by persons who were acquainted with the circumstances of the execution. The exhumation, says the Soviet journal, took place in the presence of many representatives of the supreme ecclesiastical authorities in Western Siberia, the local clergy, and delegates from the People's Army, Cossacks, and Czecho-Slovaks. The body was placed in a zinc coffin, encased in a costly covering of Siberian cedar and the coffin was exposed in the Cathedral at Ekaterinburg under a guard of honour composed of the chief commanders of the People's Army. The body will be temporarily buried in a special sarcophagus at Omsk.'

Comment is superfluous. The fourth and last of the ' precautions ' against conviction followed a year later, perhaps under stress of circumstances, but certainly without any regard for the Soviet's own previous announcements.

Here it is :—

On September 17, 1919, in the House of the Executive Committee of the Soviet at Perm, the Bolshevists brought to trial twenty-eight persons arrested on the accusation of having murdered the Tsar and his family. The following report of the proceedings is taken from the Bolshevist paper *Prayda* :—

' The Revolutionary Tribunal has considered the case of the murder of the late Tsar, Nicholas Romanov, his wife, the Princess of Hesse, their daughters Olga (Tatiana), Marie and Anastasia, and their suite. In all eleven persons were assassinated. Of the twenty-eight persons accused three were members of the Ekaterinburg Soviet—Grusinqv, Yakhontov and Malutin ; among the accused were also two women, Maria Apraksina and Elizaveta Mironova. The account of the murder as gathered from the material under the consideration of the Revolutionary Tribunal is as follows :—

' The Tsar and all the members of his *entourage* were shot—no mockery and no cruelties took place. Yakhontov admitted that he had organized the murder in order to throw the discredit of the crime on

the Soviet authorities, whose adversary he became after having joined the Socialist revolutionaries of the Left Wing. The plan of murdering the Tsar was conceived during the latter's stay at Tobolsk, but the Tsar was too strictly watched. In Ekaterinburg, when the Czecho-Slovak troops were approaching the town, the Soviet authorities were panic-stricken to such a degree that it was easy for him to avail himself of his position as chairman of the Extraordinary Commission (for combating counter-revolution) and to give the order to murder the Tsar and his family. Yakhontov admitted that he personally participated in the murder, and that he took upon himself the responsibility for it. He, however, said that he was not responsible for the robbery of the belongings of the Tsar's family. According to his deposition, Tsar Nicholas said before he died, " For the murder of the Tsar Russia will curse the Bolshevists." Grusinov and Malutin stated that they did not know anything about Yakhontov's plans, and only carried out his orders. Yakhontov was found guilty of the murder and sentenced to death. Grusinov, Malutin, Apraksina and Mironova were found guilty of robbery committed on the murdered members of the Tsar's family. They were sentenced to death too. The death sentence was carried out the following day.

' Several objects belonging to the household of the Tsar were discovered with a thief named Kiritshevsky, who stated that these things had been given to him by a man named Sorin, who was the chairman of the Local Extraordinary Commission. At the time of the murder Sorin was the commander of a revolutionary battalion. Sorin was a personal friend of Beloborodov, who also participated in the assassination of the Emperor.'—*Rossia* (Paris), No. 1, December 17, 1919.[1]

I have carefully compared the names given above with the list of 164 persons mentioned in the dossier as being implicated or even suspected of having acted any part whatsoever in the tragedy ; I have perused the cognomens of the twenty-four members of the Ekaterinburg Sovdep presidium. There is not one name in the mock trial that even resembles any of them (one cannot possibly identify Yakhontov with Yurovsky) ; the very charge is farcical if one compares this report

[1] This document has been widely quoted by Jewish organizations to prove that the murder of the Tsar was not carried out by the Bolshevists, and to dispel the nation of a ' racial vendetta.' Apropos of this document a London daily stated (August 18, 1920) : ' In the interest of truth it must be here said that the Moscow Central Soviet Government has always disclaimed all participation (*sic*) in the murder, explaining that its intention was to judge Nicholas II publicly, but not to do away with him secretly in a cellar.'

with the text of the official announcement of the 'execution.' Alone Beloborodov's name is familiar. He was nominally president of the Ural sovdep at the time of the murders. I explained his real position—that of a mere helot, a thieving workman, kept in office to serve as a screen for the rulers of Sovietdom. After the murders he was 'promoted' to the Tsik, the highest honour of Sovdepia. But they do not stand on ceremony with Russian komisars in the land where Sverdlov rules, and we read of him in the *Pravda* as being stigmatized as (1) a thief's friend, and (2) a party to the very murder for which he was promoted—the very same appalling crime that Sverdlov had ordained—the stain whereof haunts the chieftains of the Soviet like a Nemesis, so that they utter things without sense.

Besides, the Soviet of Moscow received a lion's share of the loot! Between July 20 and 22 it was taken from Ipatiev's house and removed to the Red metropolis. The Bolshevists were fleeing before the advance of the Siberian troops. Yankel Yurovsky, evidently in a hurry to leave Ekaterinburg, took farewell of the death-house on the night of the 19th. His driver thus describes the exodus. That night he had by Yurovsky's orders called at the *chrezvychaika,* and thence conveyed two young men, one of them a Jew, to Ipatiev's house, where Yankel was waiting. These youths went into the house and brought out seven pieces of baggage, among them being a black leather trunk covered with seals. When he had taken his seat in the vehicle, Yurovsky gave his orders to the young men: 'Set everything to rights. Leave twelve men on sentry duty and send the remainder to the station.'

The guard at Ipatiev's house remained till the 23rd, but even after that, on the 24th and 25th some of the Russian ex-warders still visited the house. The Whites entered Ekaterinburg on the 25th, and occupied the house on the following day.

PLATE VI

AT THE GANINA MINE

On the left, Mr. Sydney Gibbes, the Tsarevich's tutor; on the right, looking down the shaft, Mr. Robert Wilton, *The Times* Correspondent (author of this narrative).

THE PYRE AT THE BIRCH TREE

N. A. Sokolov, General Domontovich and his A.D.C. pose at the limits of the larger pyre, where most of the bodies and clothing were cremated. Alongside stands the tree with the tell-tale inscription.

AT THE GANINA MINE

THE PYRE AT THE BIRCH TREE

CHAPTER XI

'MURDER WILL OUT'

HAVING established, with the evidence of accomplices and of the death-house, the fact that a murder had been committed, the investigating magistrate had to find the bodies or to show conclusively what had become of them; otherwise the whole case remained in doubt. This proved to be a task of immense difficulty.

Suspicions of the truth were rife from the outset. It was known that five motor-lorries had been requisitioned; that all had been absent several days; that two had carried petrol, and that one had returned covered with mud and gore. Too many persons were involved to conceal the truth for long; the peasants who had to come by the forest road from Koptiaki village at once detected something amiss, and quickly drew their conclusions, which turned out to be correct. But 'suspicions' are not proof. . . .

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Somewhere within the purview of the disused iron-mine 'proof' was obtainable—on that point there seemed to be no doubt. We took up our residence in the wood—Sokolov, Diterichs, myself and others—and remained there throughout the late spring and early summer of 1919. We descended the mine, found water and ice and a floor. We searched the ground and scoured the woods, living from day to day in alternate hope or despair of settling the gruesome mystery. The woods were full of disused workings, each easily capable of concealing what we sought.

Day by day we discovered fresh relics around the pit where the bodies had, we knew, been destroyed. Sokolov tirelessly passed through his searching examination every likely witness; not a peasant, or *dachnik* (summer resident), or railway servant that had been anywhere near the place escaped him.

Slowly, but surely, the scope of possible error lessened. We had got well away from the versions carefully sown by agents of Yurovsky, who remained in the city, that the bodies had been buried in one place, then re-buried in another.

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One of the witnesses cited in the preliminary inquiry (before Sokolov took charge) had described overhearing a conversation between several Bolshevists about the bodies. The speakers were said to be: Ermakov (whom we know), Mlyshkin, Kostuzov, Partin, Krivtsov, and Levatnykh. They spoke cynically of feeling the corpses while they were still warm. Levatnykh boasted that he had felt the Tsaritsa and that he 'could now die in peace.' They also spoke of 'valuables sewn in their clothes.'

The presumable genuineness of these confidences misled the earlier investigator into believing their other statements or perhaps the additions made to them by the spy, who may have been a Red agent—to wit, that the bodies had been buried in various places round the city. This was a 'red' herring that unfortunately drew the investigator off a hot trail. He did not even go near the wood. Had he done so, he could not have helped discovering easily then what we had such difficulty in finding a year later. His excuse had been that the wood was 'dangerous' on account of Red bands; but even if this were so, he could have deputed a less timorous person. A number of self-appointed 'investigators' took this opportunity of 'gleaning' relics—perhaps invaluable clues.

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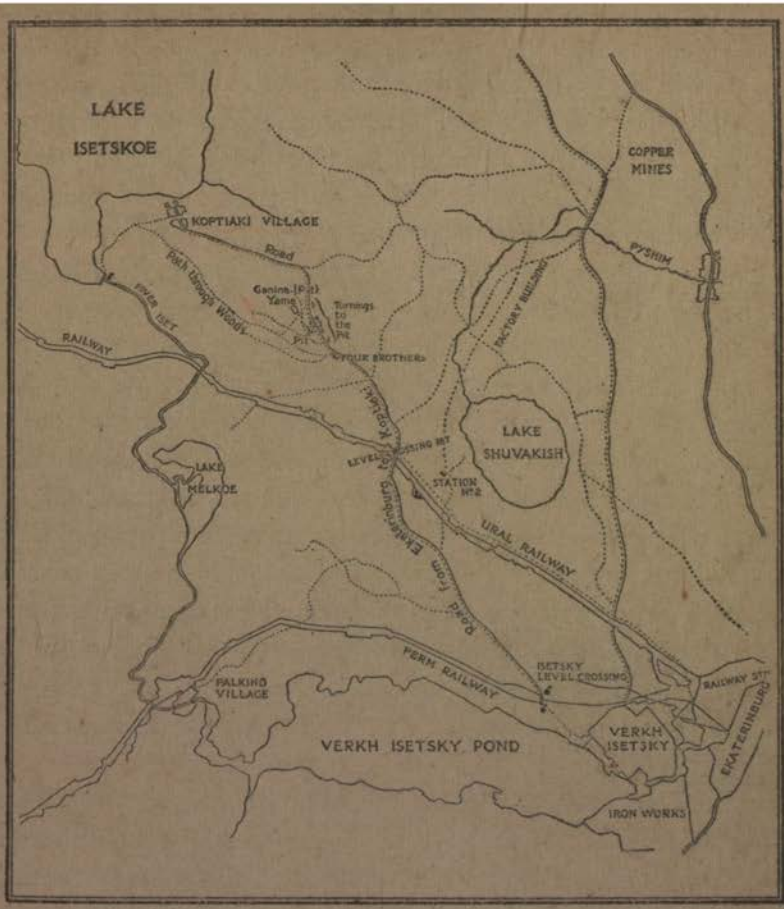
Extreme measures had to be taken, nothing less than the



N.W. ENVIRONS OF EKATERINBURG

Showing the Road by which the bodies were carried and pit where the ashes were buried.

DISTANCES:- EKATERINBURG to PIT = 11 MILES
PIT to KOPTIAKI = 3 MILES

complete sifting of the ground within the area of destruction and emptying of the shafts down which any remains could have been thrown. This was a task outside the province of an investigating magistrate. Here we wanted miners with pumping machinery, woodsmen and surveyors; above all we wanted money.

Thanks to Admiral Koltchak the wherewithal was forthcoming. Indeed, I render him bare justice in saying that without his stanch personal support the investigation would have been overwhelmed long ago by the constant intrigues of the Omsk Government. He gave the money out of his own funds, because the grant legally authorized by him was 'held up' by his Ministers.

Under the orders and supervision of General Diterichs, a commando of White Guards was formed to carry out the necessary operations. The men were all from the Urals—i.e., miners and peasants versed in woodcraft. Several hundreds of them camped around the Ganina Yama (ditch), situated near a bend in the road to Koptiaki, not a hundred paces from the mine. These men knew what they were working for and put their shoulder to the wheel in all earnestness.

But we had to leave before complete success had crowned their efforts. Diterichs received the summons to save the armies. I went with him. General Domontovich, a very gallant soldier, took command in his place. (He died of typhus during the retreat and was buried in Chita early this year, 'Tsárstvie nebésnoie.')

Success came before we had to evacuate Ekaterinburg. The contents of the shaft, extracted with infinite trouble, set at rest for ever any lingering doubt as to the destruction of the bodies. Sokolov had his 'proof.'

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Here is the narrative of the investigation. It is a good commentary on the homely saying, 'Murder will out.'

It will be remembered that Ermakov went with the bodies from the death-house. Now Ermakov lived at the Verkh-Isetsk Ironworks, adjoining the city and situated along the route to Koptiaki—i.e., north-east of Ekaterinburg. The Stenbok-Fermor Wood lies a few miles beyond. At the works Ermakov found a detachment of his Red Guards (he was military *komisar*) and a number of conveyances ready harnessed. The whole procession moved off along the Koptiaki road. There is, indeed, no other road in the vicinity practicable for a motor-lorry. Vaganov, the other regicide, mounted his horse and acted as armed escort for the lorry.

Shortly after three o'clock in the morning (solar time) they reached that place where several paths, long disused and grass-grown, turn off to the left towards Ganina Yama. Here they forced a way through the undergrowth, and at one place nearly upset the lorry into a ditch. The mark of the wheels was still visible a year later, and alongside lay the beam which had been brought from the disused mine to jack up the canted lorry.

Around the shafts in this particular place the grass then showed no trace of human passage. Koptiaki villagers did not come that way as a rule. The place had been well selected. But the murderers forgot the habits of the peasant, especially of the haymakers and fisherfolk.

* * * * *

Nastasia Z. left the village at dawn with her son and daughter-in-law. They approached the gruesome procession just as it was turning off the road. Two horsemen rode up to them. One wore a sailor's uniform. Nastia knew him. He was a Verkh-Isetsk resident—Vaganov. The latter yelled out: 'Turn back!' and coming abreast of the peasant cart brandished a revolver at Nastia's head. Frightened, the peasant woman pulled her horse round so sharply that the cart almost upset. Vaganov rode alongside, still pointing his weapon and

shouting, 'Don't look round, or I shoot. . . .' After chasing them about a mile towards the village, Vaganov rode back.

The peasants had not been able in the faint light to make out clearly what was behind Vaganov. 'Something long and grey, like a heap,' was all that they could distinguish. The *baba* (peasant woman) concluded that it was the Red Guard army marching to Koptiaki. Urging her horse onward, she immediately roused the whole village, informing the *muzhiks* that the 'army' was coming 'with transport and artillery.' They listened in consternation, alarmed chiefly for their hay crop. An army coming meant fighting in the neighbourhood, and here it was just the time for mowing. The hay might all be lost.

They discussed the matter long and passionately: then some of the boldest among them, headed by an old soldier, set off to investigate. On the road they encountered some Austrian war prisoners who were haymaking, and asked if they had seen the army. They replied that quite early, while they were working on the road, some Russian Cossacks had ridden up and driven them away. The villagers became all the more curious to know what it all meant.

Presently, as they came abreast of the mine, they heard horses neighing. Coming to one of the turnings they saw that the grass had all been crushed and the saplings bent. They were on the point of following this strange trail when out of the wood appeared a horseman armed with sword, revolver, rifle and hand grenades, and asked them what they were doing. The *muzhiks* put on a bold face, although badly frightened, and asked if the *tovarishch* (comrade) would kindly reassure them, because the whole village was in a state of excitement.

They were graciously informed that there was no cause for alarm. 'Our front has been entered at several points. We are merely scouting and practising. Do not be afraid if you hear firing!' They had a friendly smoke together and

then the *muzhiks* departed. They had scarcely gone when a report like the explosion of a hand grenade was heard, and then a short while afterwards another explosion. Soon after their return to the village the same horseman appeared, ' to tranquillize them all,' as he explained.

They were reassured about the haymaking, but now arose another matter. Many of the villagers fished in the large Isetsk lake, which spreads its lovely waters in front of Koptiaki. They had obtained a good haul that night and must take it into the city—it was market day (Wednesday)—and in the hot weather fish does not keep. But the ' Russian Cossacks ' were inexorable.

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On the city side there was a crowd at the level crossing over the Ural line striving to get to Koptiaki, which being a pretty place attracted many summer residents. These unfortunates, thus ' stranded,' waited for hours and hours in vain. Some of the railway servants were accommodated with ' benzine ' from the casks of petrol waiting in reserve. The stream of fisher-folk and the procession of *dachniks* coming and going enabled the investigation to define very precisely the exact limits of the cordon placed round the wood. It pointed in one direction—Ganina Yama. That was the locality that had to be kept from prying eyes.

The peasants were also the first to discover the place where the bodies were destroyed. Their evidence afforded immense, invaluable service to the investigation; in fact, without them the truth might never have been established owing to the earlier mistakes of the inquiry.

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As soon as the cordon was raised, some of the Koptiaki men hastened to the spot where the horses had neighed and the detonations had been heard. They had thought that the Red Guards were burying arms. The ashes around the pit sug-

gested something else. They started to scrape; soon they found a cross belonging to the Empress and the brass buckle of the Tsarevich's belt. Some instinct prompted them to jump to the conclusion that it was 'the Tsar's,' although they knew nothing of the murder.

There were eight of the *muzhiks* standing round the pit examining with awe the finds that they had made. 'Boys,' said one, and he voiced the secret thought of all, 'it is just this, they have been burning Nicholas here. That cross can belong only to him. And that buckle, I tell you, is the Tsarevich's.' They crossed themselves in prayer and silently came away. Needless to say, these honest souls promptly handed over the relics to the White authorities.

* * * * *

On my first visit to the burning-mound, I was attracted by an inscription carved on the giant birch that overhangs one pyre. It read: 'T. A. Fesenko,' and the date 'July 11, 1918,' i.e., six days before the murder. A young man sat beside the tree. He was a stranger to me. I took him to be one of Sokolov's agents, especially as outsiders were not encouraged to hover round the iron-pits. I was looking closely at the ground to note where the bodies had been burned and pick up any remaining clues.

The stranger exclaimed: 'You will have to look very hard!' I thought this was a strange remark; the singed and scorched appearance of the ground was, indeed, very noticeable still, although nearly a year had passed. But I encouraged the conversation, suspecting a surprise. The stranger proceeded to give in rather excited tones his conviction that the story of the bonfires and the burning of the bodies was all a myth. 'See for yourself! How could they have destroyed all those bodies and left so few cinders!' he insisted.

Of course I did not enlighten him as to the petrol and sulphuric acid—which so powerfully aided the work of cre-

mation—or the probable scattering of the ashes around and down the pit. I went straight to Sokolov, who was not far away, and told him what the young man had said. 'That must be Fesenko,' was his remark. We walked up to the place. The stranger had resumed his seat beside the birch and appeared to be suffering. Sokolov continued: 'Yes, that's the man.' He brought Yurovsky to this place. He is just a young fool of a Bolshevist. Yurovsky took him because he was in charge of this wood, and he was so proud of escorting a komisar that he recorded the visit by carving his name and date on the tree.

'Why then is he at large?' I queried.

'Well, the fact is, we hope he may give himself or some of the murderers away. We arrested him and let him go. He haunts this place, and is ever trying to prove that nothing could have happened here!' I felt rather sorry for the poor wretch. Perhaps he had not suspected Yurovsky's purpose. Yurovsky did not confide such secrets. At all events I gave him the benefit of the doubt, feeling sure that there would be no peace for his tortured mind in this life.

But Sokolov dispelled my sympathy: 'The fact is, he touches a sore point. Where are the cinders? That is the question. We have found too few. They must be hidden somewhere. Now Fesenko could not possibly have discovered this weak point in our armour himself. He has probably been put up to it by the murderers or their spies. That is why we let him wander about.' However, Fesenko did not give away himself or his associates.

* * * * *

Not a hundred paces away from the pyres I noticed a little clearing with a comfortable tree-stump. Here one could sit quietly, unseen by the people at the pit's mouth. A pleasant birch and pine grove stretched its fragrant, sonorous maze between this natural arbour and the scene of grisly horror.

Here on this stump Yurovsky had sat while his henchmen performed the last act in the tragedy. Beside this seat we found (a year later) egg-shells—the remains of the fifty eggs ordered by Yurovsky from the nuns, ostensibly for the Romanovs. But this fare had not sufficed for the dainty *komisar*. There were also chicken-bones. There were also torn pages from a treatise on anatomy in German (Yurovsky was only a *felcher*; he knew little about anatomy). And in order that there should be no doubt as to the origin of these various clues, it so happened that Yurovsky left behind a newspaper published in German at the very period under discussion, full of abuse of the Czechs, accusing them of servile subserviency to the Entente High Command, and treating the war as a slaughter arranged in the interest of capital.

* * * * *

Reference has been made in preceding chapters to the manner in which the Grand Duchesses had concealed their jewels. Two of their confidential servitors, Mlles. Tutelberg and Erzberg, came to our camp in the woods to identify the relics. They had sewn up the bodices, buttons, hats, and other receptacles, and knew precisely what jewels were on the persons of the victims when the murder took place, it being obvious that during their residence in Ipatiev's house none of the prisoners would venture to undo or change these receptacles, as they were under constant observation. The Grand Duchesses Olga, Tatiana and Anastasia each wore double-quilted bodices stuffed with jewels weighing several pounds. Olga carried a satchel round her neck with some special gems and wore several ropes of pearls concealed across her shoulders. The manner in which the concealment had been effected misled the first superficial search of the bodies in the house.

* * * * *

We now trace the gruesome picture of the cutting up and destruction of the bodies. First of all the clothes were partly

removed. The bodices at once aroused attention owing to their weight. The 'ghouls' began to tear them apart. Their contents were spilled on to the ground, and some of the things rolled into the grass or were trodden into the soil of the mound.

But they did not trouble to denude the corpses completely, and began hacking them in pieces on the clay mound that surrounded the pit's mouth, smiting and severing at the same time some of the valuables that still remained. The large diamonds, which had been camouflaged as buttons, have disappeared with the exception of one. They may have been burned with the clothes of the Grand Duchesses or have been looted. One was found trampled into the clay beside the pyre. Here also was found the Empress's emerald pectoral cross. Some of the bullets dropped out of the bodies during the chopping, others while the limbs were in the flames.

Two pyres were used—one near the shaft, the other near the birch tree. After the cremation had been completed the cinders of both pyres were collected and thrown down the shaft of the mine, which had been previously prepared. Ice remains throughout the summer in deep workings like this one. It had been tested by means of hand grenades, and had then been smashed in order that the cinders, etc., should sink to the bottom of the water. Over them a flooring had been adjusted and anchored.

Innumerable witnesses saw the coming and the going of the lorries. The 'ghouls' remained in the wood till their task was done. Their shelters and camps were discovered. They were seen leaving—rolling about in the lorry, like men tired to death.

The flooring had deceived all search in the mine. Only when the operations that I have described above had brought all the core of the shaft to the surface everything was explained. The corpse of little Jemmy lay just under the false floor. It

had been preserved by the ice. When good Domontovich made this discovery he immediately telegraphed to us. We all realized that the mystery of the bodies had been solved.

* * * * *

There were literally hundreds of clues now available. Sokolov busied himself classifying and identifying them. It would be quite impossible to enumerate them all. Several volumes of the dossier are devoted to it. There are the *procès-verbaux* of each 'find' and each identification. I give here a brief but accurate summary of the clues :—

(1) A large diamond of the finest water, identified as forming a pendant to a necklace belonging to the Empress, valued at 20,000 gold roubles ; slightly touched by fire.

(2) An emerald cross belonging to Alexandra, identified as a present from the Empress Marie, found by experts to be of high workmanship, valued at 2,000 gold roubles ; broken and singed.

(3) A pearl earring untouched, having been thrown with some earth down the shaft, recognized as one of a pair always worn by the Empress, declared to be extremely fine workmanship, valued at 3,000 gold roubles.

(4) Four fragments of a large pearl and settings, declared to be a pair to (3).

(5) Two fragments of emerald declared by experts to have formed part of a large and very fine stone, severed by some hard and heavy object and trampled.

(6) Eleven fragments of emerald.

(7) Thirteen round pearls, all of high quality, as belonging to one rope.

(8) Five fragments of pearl, as belonging to one large gem of finest orient, severed by a heavy weight or trampling.

(9) Another broken pearl of high quality.

(10) Two fine brilliants, declared to have formed part of an ornament of large size.

(11) Portion of a large diamond silver-mounted ornament, bearing traces of heavy blows.

(12 to 21) Precious stones—diamonds, sapphires, rubies, almandine and topazes—and settings, all bearing marks, as experts show, of having been crushed or severed by heavy or cutting objects.

(22 to 28) Articles and appurtenances of apparel, including pieces of cloth identified as parts of the Empress's skirt, the Tsarevich's military overcoat and Botkin's overcoat ; six sets of corset steels (the Empress would not permit her daughters or the servants to go

without corsets, neither would she herself; Demidova wore them also—that would make exactly six); metallic parts of corset suspenders and fragments of silk and elastic; the Tsarevich's belt buckle; the Tsar's belt buckle, both identified; three paste shoe buckles of first-class workmanship, one identified as the Empress's, two as belonging to the Grand Duchesses; a large number of buttons, hooks and eyes, etc., some identified as belonging to the Empress's dress, also military buttons corresponding with the uniforms and caps of the Tsar and Tsarevich, as made for them by the court tailor in Petrograd. The appurtenances of female costume were such as the court dressmaker used for the family. There were also parts of apparel such as were used by the tailor who dressed the court servants. The footgear remnants showed strong action by fire. Experts were able, however, to note that they included cork and fine brass screws, both evidences of high-class articles. In their opinion the remnants might well represent seven pairs of boots.

(29 to 41) Exhibits of equal if not greater interest. Among them may be cited: A pocket-case in which the Tsar always carried his wife's portrait; three small ikons worn by the Grand Duchesses, having in each case the face of the saint destroyed as if blows had been aimed at them; the Empress's jubilee badge of her Lancer regiment; the gold frame of Botkin's eye-glasses; a large spectacle glass such as the Empress wore at Tobolsk; remnants of the Tsarevich's haversack, in which he was accustomed to keep his treasures; several bottles as used for smelling salts, always carried by the Grand Duchesses, and finally a varied assortment of nails, tinfoil, copper coins, etc., which vastly puzzled Sokolov till somebody, I think Mr. Gibbes, reminded him that Alexis was fond of collecting odds and ends, being of a very saving disposition, like his father.

Then came a number of specially important relics. First, a series of Nagan bullets, some entire but bearing the marks of the rifling, some without the lead core, some in the shape of blobs of molten lead, still unmistakable. Secondly, in the shaft itself, a human finger, two pieces of human skin, and in the clay of the mound many fragments of chopped and sawed human bones, which could still be certified although they had been subjected to the action of fire and perhaps of acid. Experts found that the skin was from a human hand. The finger is described as belonging to a woman of middle age. It is long, slender, and well-shaped, like the Empress's hand.

Near the shaft was found a set of artificial teeth (upper jaw with plate), identified as Dr. Botkin's. The front teeth were deeply encrusted with mire, as if the body had been dragged face downwards and thereby the teeth, catching in the hard clay soil, had dragged the plate out of the dead man's mouth.

When the first inspection of the death-house was made—ten days after the murder—it bore all the traces of having been

plundered by people who had first slaughtered the owners. The reader will be able to picture it, but his imagination will not come up to the reality. Amidst this scene of pillage and confusion one felt that a careful hand had destroyed everything that could help the investigation; nevertheless, highly-important clues came to light, among them a full list of the Red Guards who had acted as gaolers, the Tsar's private cypher which he had hidden away—as if expecting to be able to reclaim it some day.

* * * * *

In the death-chamber there was a curious inscription in German, written by a man of some culture—not Yurovsky, therefore, but perhaps one of the two men from the *Chrezvychaika* whom he had left in charge of the house on his departure. It was an adaptation of Heine's lines on the fate of Belshazzar :—

> Belsatzar ward in selbiger Nacht
> Von seinen Knechten umgebracht.

He had omitted the conjunctive 'aber' which comes in the poet's line after 'ward,' and then, having first written 'selbigen,' had changed it to 'seinen,' feeling perhaps that these modifications were necessary to fit the occasion. Perhaps unconsciously he also converted Belsazar (as Heine spells the name) to Belsatzar. The writer was quoting a Jew whose poem expatiates on the overthrow of a Gentile sovereign who had offended Israel. The Book of Daniel is not so explicit. It says : 'In that night was Belshazzar the King of the Chaldeans slain' (Dan. vi. 30). But the author of the inscription wished to make it 'clear' that 'Belsatzar' was slain by his own people.

CHAPTER XII

ALL THE ROMANOVS

THE death of Nicholas II and his family did not suffice for the Soviet plan of 'government' with, or without, Germany. Nothing short of extermination of all the Romanovs could satisfy the enemies of 'Belsatzar.' Whenever the *Tsik* (Central Executive Committee) and the *Chrezvychaika* (Inquisition) laid hands on any of the ex-Tsar's relatives their fate was sealed. It did not matter where the unfortunate princes might be, or what local authority happened to be ostensibly involved —the *Tsik* and Yankel Sverdlov, Red Jewish Autocrat of All the Russias, directed the disposal of them.

It is quite useless for the apologists of Soviet rule to insinuate that local bodies may have committed excesses without the knowledge and approval of the Centre: in these murders of Grand Dukes and a Grand Duchess—in all eleven persons of the blood Royal—the hand of the Central Government is clearly apparent. Moreover, they were all slain in cold blood, of deliberate purpose; not like the victims of the holocaust at Perm, because a reign of stark terror had been ordained from Moscow.

It is with mind and hand still a-tremble after reciting the horrors of the cellar and the woods of Ekaterinburg that I take up this tale of woe, all the more pitiful on account of the utter absence of any pretext for the crimes—just sordid murder

unrelieved by any shadow of political expediency or provocation.

First, I take the case of the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich; he 'disappeared' before the others—about a month before the Tsar—and he was the ostensible Heir, although he had formally resigned his rights to the people. I have collected all the materials concerning his last days in Perm.

The Tsar's brother had remained at Gachina, his usual residence, during the early months of Bolshevist rule. There he was arrested in March, 1918, and sent into exile. His secretary, Nicholas Nikolaievich Johnson, and the former Chief of the Gendarmerie at Gachina, Colonel Znamerovsky, were arrested at the same time and transported together with him, guarded by Letts. Perm was their destination, and in that city they resided for the next two months.

Apart from being under surveillance, the exiles enjoyed comparative freedom. The Grand Duke took his walks with his secretary. Although suffering from a chronic malady (gastral ulcers) which required constant exercise and a special diet, he had no cause to complain of his health while in Perm. The fact was many people sent him dainties, such as sterlets freshly caught out of the Kama, so that his rooms at the Korolevskie Nomera (King's Inn) were always full of provisions. He felt so well that he seldom had recourse to the medicine for stilling the terrible pains that he suffered during acute attacks of the malady.

Popularity has its drawbacks. The people of Perm did not realize that their attentions to the exile might arouse suspicion among his Red enemies. When things came to such a pass that the Tsar's brother found himself running the gauntlet of popular ovations, it became necessary to avoid too frequent appearances in the streets. Znamerovsky warned the Grand Duke that the Reds at the suburban Motoviliha arsenal were beginning to grow restive and openly agitating against the liberty allowed to the exiles. So thereafter the familiar figure

of Michael Alexandrovich in his shabby grey suit and top-boots was seen no more, and he took his exercise under the cover of darkness.

The Grand Duke had left his wife and children at Gachina. Countess Brasova (his morganatic spouse) came to visit her husband in the middle of May. Madame Znamerovskaia had also arrived in Perm. It was a rash step. Countess Brasova had much difficulty in getting away; in fact it was only managed by a stratagem. The komisars were told that if they interfered the matter would be referred to Moscow. This frightened them.

Reaching Moscow on May 22 or 23, Countess Brasova decided to take a still bolder step to save her husband. Conscious of his complete aloofness from politics, she imagined that personal intercession with the Red chieftains would move them to let him go. Of course it was an illusion excusable only in a distracted wife. I mention it because Lenin himself intervened in the matter. It was the lofty idealist of Sovietdom, that absolutely refused to permit the departure of Michael and thereby assumed the responsibility of what happened.

Madame Znamerovskaia did not leave Perm. She was there when her husband was shot and later shared his fate. But I am anticipating.

Unbeknown to any member of the family or even to N. N. Johnson, Colonel Znamerovsky had conceived a plan of escape which he intended to put into practice, fearing that the Motoviliha workmen might be goaded into violence. I am in possession of the details of this plan, and I can state most positively—in the light of subsequent events—that it was not carried out, nor even attempted.

On June 13 a telegram reached Gachina from Perm, announcing that ' our general favourite and Johnny has been removed by whom and whither unknown.' This message was

supposed to have come from Znamerovsky—it could have come only from him. The first feeling was one of unmixed joy; then doubts began to arise, and no small anxiety as to the probable repression that would at once fall upon the household at Gachina. Surely enough, soon afterwards Countess Brasova was arrested by Uritsky, the blood-stained Komisar of Petrograd, who himself was assassinated two months later by another Jew. After innumerable tribulations, she managed to escape with her children out of Russia.

* * * * *

What had happened in Perm? A dispatch from Mr. Alston, the British Acting High Commissioner, reported from Vladivostok, February 13, 1919: 'Mr. T. has just arrived here. . . . When at Perm he says he lived in the same hotel with Grand Duke Michael and Mr. Johnson, his secretary, who was a Russian. At 2 a.m. on or about June 16 he saw four of the Perm militzia or police take them off, and he is convinced that they were killed.'

Later, it became possible to obtain the evidence of eye-witnesses, which corroborated and amplified Mr. Alston's dispatch. The Grand Duke had two servants with him in Perm, Borunov and Chelyshev. They lived in an adjoining room. Mr. Johnson lived upstairs. Chelyshev escaped and gave the following version:—

At about the date above mentioned (June 12 to 16—he was hazy on this point) he was asleep one night when three men in soldiers' dress, fully armed, entered his room, woke him up and roughly ordered him to lead them to Michael Romanov. In vain he protested that the Grand Duke was asleep. They threatened him with the Chrezvychaika. He had to comply. He first woke Mr. Johnson. Then he led the way to the Grand Duke's room. He was asleep. Chelyshev roused him and explained the reason. The Grand Duke looked at the armed men.

One of them said: 'We have orders to take you—orders

from the Sovdep.'[1] The Grand Duke replied: 'I shall not come unless you show me a paper.' One of the men then stepped forward and, laying his hand roughly on the Grand Duke's shoulder, exclaimed: 'Oh! these Romanovs! We are fed up with you all!'

Realizing that resistance was futile, the Grand Duke rose and dressed himself. Mr. Johnson had also meanwhile made himself ready, and insisted that the men should take him away as well. After some argument, they agreed. Chelyshev declares that he also asked to be taken, but that the men refused.

As the soldiers and their two prisoners were going out of the room, Chelyshev remembered about the medicine, and, grasping the bottle, followed, calling out: 'Please, your Highness, take it with you.' He knew that without his medicine the Grand Duke might be subjected to great and needless suffering. The soldiers roughly pushed him aside and, making some brutal remark about the Imperial Family, led the prisoners away. From that moment they were lost to view. Many stories of Michael's escape and of his having been seen at Omsk, at Semipalatinsk, at Chita, at Harbin, etc., have been successively disproved.

Against the version of an escape there are the strongest evidences. The Grand Duke would never have been a party to any attempt to evade his gaolers, knowing full well that both the Tsar—for whom his loyalty and affection were proverbial—and his own family would suffer for him. It may be objected that he was removed against his will by friends in disguise; but this theory cannot explain away their refusal to allow him to take with him a remedy necessary to his health and perhaps to his life. There had been plots to procure his escape—so I have reason to believe; but in every case the plans had been betrayed. Colonel Znamerovsky knew this. He would trust

[1] Abbreviation of *Soviet deputatov* (Council of Deputies).

nobody with his plan, but obviously it miscarried, for he was himself to go with Michael, and we know that instead of that he was murdered. The shooting of Znamerovsky followed close upon the Grand Duke's disappearance.

Chelyshev afterwards professed confidence in his master's escape, but at the time he had no such illusion. In fact, he was convinced then that the Grand Duke had been trapped, for when he had had time to recover from his surprise, he went to the local Soviet and complained that the Grand Duke had been kidnapped. He relates that no attention was paid to him at first, but that later some semblance of a search was made and quickly dropped.

Regarding the ultimate disposal of the two prisoners, stories circulate just as numerous and varied as the stories of their escape. I need not cite them. It suffices that the Grand Duke Michael, gentlest of men, to whom all thought of power and even of ambition was repugnant, disappeared to be seen no more.

* * * * *

Perm and its vicinity was destined to witness other tragedies full of horror. Many other members of the Romanov family had been interned there, including (1) the Grand Duchess Elizabeth, sainted sister of the Empress, venerated by grateful Muscovites while Alexandra was disliked; (2) the Grand Duke Sergius Mikhailovich, former Master of the Ordnance, and quite remote from politics; (3) Prince Igor; (4) Prince Ioan; (5) Prince Constantine, all three brilliant young men, the sons of the late Grand Duke Constantine Constantinovich, none of them concerned with political matters; and (6) Prince Vladimir Pavlovich Palei, son of the Grand Duke Paul and stepbrother of the Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovich. This youth of seventeen had given promise of being one of the world's greatest poets.

Prince Ioan was married to Princess Elena of Serbia, who had come to the Urals to share her husband's exile. She had

been persuaded to go to her country, the Bolshevists hesitating to incarcerate her, and she was at Ekaterinburg when, towards the end of June, she heard that Prince Ioan and the other captives had been put on starvation rations. She decided, come what might, not to leave him behind. Thereupon the Bolshevists arrested her. She was in the prison at Ekaterinburg when the Tsar and his family were murdered. In the same prison were some people who had followed the Imperial household into captivity: young Countess Anastasia Henrikova, Mlle. Schneider, the Emperor's valet Volkov. (Prince Dolgoruky and General Tatishchev had 'disappeared' earlier.) Of course, none of them knew anything about the awful happenings in Ipatiev's house.

When the Jewish murderers and their accomplices, the German-Magyar 'Letts,' had taken wing before the advance of the Whites, these prisoners were sent to Perm for future disposal, while they themselves had hurried westward, having helped to accomplish the hellish design of the Jew fiend, Yankel Sverdlov—to exterminate 'all the Romanovs.' Orders had already preceded them to Perm, and the design had been fully accomplished there. The murder of the Romanovs of Perm took place exactly twenty-four hours after the murder of the family in Ekaterinburg.

* * * * *

Here are the bare facts of this new butchery. The six Romanov prisoners above mentioned, with the Grand Duchess's companion, the nun Varvara, and S. M. Remes, manager for the princes, were interned in the village school of Alapaevsk, a place in the environs of Perm.

On the night of July 17 (1918) their warders came to tell them the story that Yurovsky had retailed to the Tsar: that there was danger for them, that the enemy (i.e., the Czecho-Slovaks) were approaching, and that in the interest of their personal safety they would be removed. It was even confided

to them whither they were going, namely, to the Siniachikhin Works. All unsuspicious, they (also) at once complied. The programme of the murder was here somewhat different. It was not convenient to carry it out on the premises. The party took their seats in the native *korobs* (a small tarantass) and were driven north.

When twelve versts (eight miles) out the caravan halted in a wood which contained a number of disused iron ore mines —one sees the similarity of detail in the murderers' plan— and here the unfortunates were slain and their bodies thrown down the shafts.

It was a much cruder performance than that of Ekaterinburg. The actual murderers here were simply Russian criminals, escaped convicts who 'worked' for the Chrezvychaika, the Red Inquisition. They just slaughtered the victims and got rid of the bodies without so much as rifling their pockets.

Meanwhile at the school certain 'precautions' were, as usual, taken. A pretended 'escape' was staged. The school building and its approaches were 'faked' to show evidence of combat between the Red Guards and pretended White Guards, and to give verisimilitude to the performance they took a peasant who happened to be locked up in the local gaol, murdered him and placed his dead body in the school to represent the White 'bandits.'

Mr. Preston, the Consul, telegraphed from Ekaterinburg, October 28, 1918, that on the retaking of Alapaevsk by the White troops on September 28, the corpses of the Romanov Princes, the Grand Duchess and their attendants were found sufficiently preserved to be recognized, and that they were buried in the presence of a great concourse of people.

The discovery had been made thanks to the resource of a local police agent, whose name I do not give for special reasons. *Post-mortem* examination showed that the victims had been bludgeoned to death but must have undergone a prolonged

agony before they died. The Grand Duke Sergius was shot through the head, perhaps to put him out of his misery; for the murderers were just butchers who did not seek to torture their victims. There was no refinement of cruelty about them. They were only Russians. It is not true that they threw their victims down the shaft before life was extinct. The autopsy has dispelled that legend. The murderers even exploded hand grenades down the shaft, probably to make assurance doubly sure.

* * * * *

The investigation has clearly established the authorship of these murders. The orders came from Moscow through the same channels that had been used in the murder of the Tsar —namely, from the Jew Sverdlov to the Jew Goloshchekin, and, as usual, the Russian workman Beloborodov acted as the dummy president of the Ekaterinburg Soviet board—the channel through which Moscow acted in the Urals. These orders were carried out by the leading komisars of Perm, among them being the Komisar of Justice Soloviev.

As in the case of the murder at Ekaterinburg, the Bolshevists at Perm followed up their traitorous crime by announcing that there had been a conspiracy. The world was told that the Princes had been kidnapped by bands of White Guards. (When the Whites had to evacuate Perm, General Diterichs arranged to have the bodies of the martyred Princes removed eastward. They rest in a place of safety—at the Russian Cathedral in Peking.)

* * * * *

More than half a year later a crime equally abominable was perpetrated at Petrograd. The victims were the Grand Dukes Paul Alexandrovich, Dmitri Constantinovich, Nicholas Mikhailovich (the historian), and George Mikhailovich. They had been imprisoned for some time without any charge being preferred against them. On January 29, 1919, they were

removed to the Fortress of SS. Peter and Paul, and there on the same day without any investigation or form of trial they were ' killed by Red Guards with revolvers '—such is the trite information that is available. But the crime of Ekaterinburg and the slaughter of Alapaevsk give a clue as to the authorship of this atrocity. The last of the Romanovs within the power of the Jew-ruled Soviet had passed away. Perhaps, some day, N. A. Sokolov will be able to investigate the crime of Petrograd.

* * * * *

We now approach the end of this long martyrology. The murders of which I am about to speak form part of the Red Terror ordained by the Soviet to avenge the murder of Uritsky and the attempt on Lenin, which took place about a month after the crime of Ekaterinburg.

I referred above to the transfer of certain prisoners from that city to Perm. Volkov, the Tsar's valet, has deposed that altogether thirty-six persons travelled in the prison train. Among them were Countess Henrikova, Mlle. Schneider, and Princess Elena. They all found themselves interned in the same prison in Perm. Here Volkov met Chelyshev, who had also been locked up, and from him heard the account of the abduction of the Grand Duke Michael. They saw the Princess leave. After great difficulty the Serbian Government had managed to rescue her. She did not, of course, know that her husband had been murdered. She thought he had escaped, and went away willingly enough this time.

The Terror had been proclaimed on September 1, 1918. The official *Izvestiya* declared that the ' proletariat (*sic*) will reply . . . in a manner that will make the whole *bourgeoisie* shudder with horror.' The *Krasnaia* (Red) *Gazeta* announced: ' We will kill our enemies in scores of hundreds. . . . Let them drown themselves in their own blood.' [1]

[1] The *chrezvychaika* of Petrograd, presided over by the Jew Peters, proclaimed that ' the criminal hand of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, directed by the Anglo-French, has dared to fire at the leader

PLATE VII

RELICS FOUND NEAR THE PYRES

(*a*) One of the Empress's huge pearl earrings.
(*b*) The Empress's great diamond pendant.
(*c*) Her pectoral cross, set with emeralds.

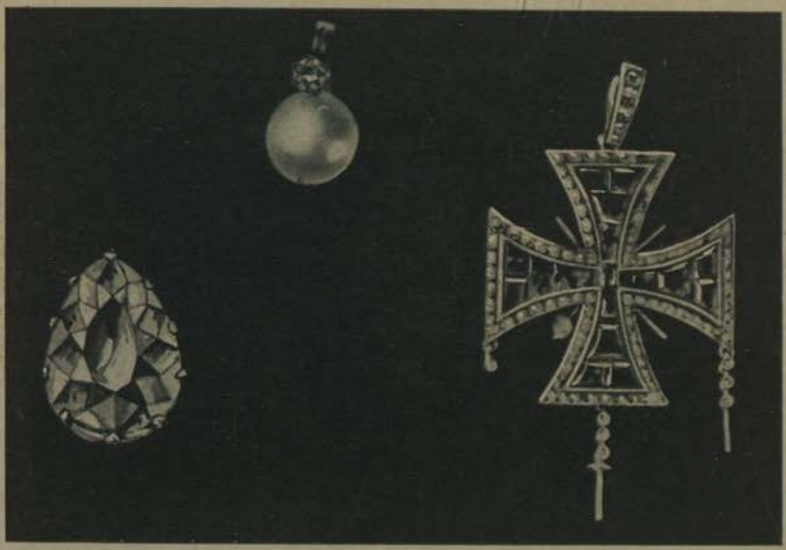
'FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH'

This group was taken at Tobolsk during the captivity. All except M. Pierre Gillard, the French tutor (in the centre), died for their loyalty to the Imperial Family. Countess Hendrikova is seated on the right with Mlle. Schneider by her side. Their mangled bodies were found outside Perm. Count Tatishchev (left) and Prince Dolgoruky (right) disappeared at Ekaterinburg. Two bodies, supposed to be theirs, were found outside the city, one bearing documents of 'citizen Dolgorukov.'

(a)

(b)

(c)



RELICS FOUND NEAR THE PYRES

'FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH'

'On the night of September 3'—I am quoting Volkov—'we were led out of the prison, eight of us. There were Countess Henrikova, Mlle. Schneider, and Mme. Znamerovskaia, myself, and four others. We were surrounded by twenty-two armed guards, part Letts, part Magyars.

'We had been told that we were to be transferred to another prison; we carried our small possessions. When we saw that they were leading us out of the town, we realized that our last hour had come. It was terribly hard on the ladies. They dragged themselves along with difficulty in the heavy mud. After several miles, we came to a corduroy road with swamps on either side.' (It was a sewage farm.) 'Some of our guards suddenly began offering to carry our bags. I knew that meant that they were going to shoot us directly, so each one wanted to secure his booty beforehand. It was now or never. While they were wrangling over the spoils I made a dash for it.'

Volkov leapt the ditch and was scuttling across the slimy waste when the Magyaro-Letts opened fire. He fell just as the first shot rang out and remained lying. They thought he was dead and moved on. He then made another dash, and

of the working classes. . . . This crime will be answered by mass terror . . . representatives of capital will be sent to forced labour . . . counter-revolutionaries will be exterminated. . . .' Petrovsky, Komisar for Interior, telegraphed all local Soviets, reproving them for 'the extraordinarily insignificant number of serious repressions (the hate-laden Jew could not abide the innate kindliness of the Russians) and mass shootings of White Guards and *bourgeoisie*.' Petrovsky denounced these 'grandmotherly' methods. He ordained that 'all Right Socialist-Revolutionaries must be immediately arrested. Considerable numbers of hostages must be taken from *bourgeoisie* and former officers. At the slightest attempt at resistance, or the slightest movement in White Guard circles, mass shootings of hostages must be immediately employed. Indecisive and irresolute action in this matter on the part of local Soviets will be severely dealt with.' Zinoviev (Appelbaum), one of the cultured leaders of Sovietdom, then declared that ninety out of 100 millions of the population must be 'won over,' but 'as for the rest, we have nothing to say to them; they must be annihilated.'

finally got away. After wandering about for forty-three days, he came into the White zone and was saved.

The frightfully mangled remains of Countess Henrikova and Mlle. Schneider were discovered by us in the summer of last year and committed to the grave in Perm, in full view of the prison windows where they had been fellow prisoners of Princess Elena.

'Comrade' Petrovsky's accusations were undeserved in Perm. The Red Terror ran a full stream of blood in that region. The peasants, being regarded by Bolshevists as the worst kind of *bourgeoisie*, provided the bulk of the 'scores of hundreds' of victims. For details of these horrors I would refer the reader to the White Book on Bolshevism issued in April, 1919.

Respecting Count Tatishchev and Prince Dolgoruky, nothing is known as to the manner of their death. According to Volkov, who was in prison with him in Ekaterinburg, Tatishchev was summoned to the office on or about June 8, and was there informed that, by order of the Soviet, he was to be deported to the province of Ufa. He was thereupon taken away from the prison and seen no more.

Prince Dolgoruky remained some time in the Ekaterinburg House of Detention. He was frequently in communication with the worthy Mr. Preston, trying to relieve the sufferings of the captives in Ipatiev's house. Probably this hastened his end. We know that the British Consul was threatened with death if he 'interfered' any more. Dolgoruky disappeared like his senior, the Count. Their memories, like the memories of Henrikova and Schneider, will live through the ages as of those who have been 'faithful unto death.'

CHAPTER XIII

THE JACKALS

AROUND the tigers of the Soviet and their feasts of blood hovered the jackals, singly, in twos and threes, and in packs, waiting to snatch some morsel.

It would be impossible to mention all the sorry scavengers that thronged around the Romanovs before and after their martyrdom. I refer only to such of them that affected, one way or another, the course of the tragedy and its investigation.

Chronologically I record the name of Soloviev first because he figures in the dossier as an actor while the Family was still at Tobolsk. The depositions of numerous witnesses substantiated by Soloviev himself show that he was receiving a salary of Rs.40,000 (nominally, £4,000) from a banker named X—— (well known in Petrograd and reputed to be a Jew), who is said to have acted for the Germans during the war, having the disbursement of secret funds from Berlin in his hands.

Having married a daughter of Rasputin, named Matrena, after the ' saint's ' death, and formed a connexion with Anna Vyrubova, then at liberty in the Red capital, and with other friends of Grishka, this young man, an ex-officer in the Russian army and former A.D.C. to Guchkov, started on a ' mission ' to Siberia. Ostensibly he went to his wife's home. His own explanation is that he was interested in the fisheries of the Ob ; also that he took money and comforts to Tobolsk to the Imperial Family from their friends in Petrograd. He deposes that he

handed the money to the priest Vasiliev, also the presents. He accuses the priest of appropriating the one and the other. (The priest makes counter-charges.)

There appears to be reason to believe that the Empress knew of this 'mission,' and, retaining to the very end all her illusions regarding Grishka and Anna, gave her confidence to Soloviev as his son-in-law and the associate of Vyrubova. How he repaid this confidence will be seen.

X——'s agent naturally kept him and the Germans informed as to all the happenings at Tobolsk, but one may be quite sure that he did not stop there. Information given to the Germans meant, of course, its communication, when Berlin so desired, to the Bolsheviks, its servants. Is it surprising in these circumstances that each of the four separate and independent organizations formed to release the Imperial exiles was betrayed before anything could be attempted?—for the Solovievs were many and X——'s tentacles far-reaching.

It could not be a coincidence that officers who met Soloviev in Tiumen were arrested by the Reds and 'disappeared.' Two such cases are recorded in the dossier. It is certainly more than a coincidence that before and after the fall of the Kolchak Government he was in mysterious association with persons who were strongly suspected of being German agents, and could give no satisfactory account of the source of his income, since he had been cut off from X——'s supplies.

N. A. Sokolov found him and Matrena at Chita, enjoying the confidence and support of Maria Mihailovna, the so-called 'Queen of Diamonds,' who presided over the destinies of the Ataman's household and had a decided finger in the Trans-Baikalian pie. The 'Queen' bore a striking likeness to a certain Jewess who had spied on the Russian South-Western front in the days of the war. She came in person to release

the Solovievs from the House of Detention to which they had been relegated by Sokolov's legal order. Sokolov himself had to flee from Chita to avoid worse consequences.

* * * * *

The priest Vasiliev was of another stamp. His antecedents should have dispensed him from ecclesiastical office. He had killed the sexton of the church where he had previously served. The plea of accident of which he availed himself to secure a normal punishment of 'penitence' could not engender a proper recognition of his responsibilities. The man was a self-seeker; he saw in the captivity of the Romanovs an opportunity to advance his own and his son's interests. He indulged in all manner of demonstrations of loyalty—bell-ringing and prayers—without regard to their effect upon the captives and their gaolers. As a matter of fact, they did much harm to the family. The accusation brought against him by Soloviev appears to be borne out in part by the discovery of a certain quantity of articles belonging to the Imperial Family in his (Vasiliev's) house.

* * * * *

The Czech pharmacist Gaida, commanding their rearguard when they were stopped by orders from Berlin and Moscow, who afterwards entered the service of the Omsk Government, played a sorry part in the investigation of the Tsar's murder. Immediately after the occupation of Ekaterinburg by the Whites, Gaida requisitioned Ipatiev's house for his personal use and took the room in which the Tsar and his wife had lived for himself. The judiciary begged him not to do so, explaining that it was most necessary that the house should not be disturbed in the interests of justice. They were brushed aside. Gaida threatened violence if they did not leave him alone. They drew up a *procès-verbal* on the matter. It is in the dossier.

In the light of this incident it is rather strange to read the

Red proclamations denouncing the Czecho-Slovaks as the agents of the counter-revolution, who were coming to deliver Nicholas Romanov. Gaida's complete indifference to the Romanovs and their fate was shared by his countrymen, and it is extremely doubtful if they would have behaved better towards the Romanovs than they did afterwards to Kolchak.[1]

Among the spies and officers employed by Gaida some are known to have been Bolshevist agents. One of the officials of his intelligence branch proved to be the Nikolsky who had behaved so brutally to the exiles at Tobolsk, and was afterwards president of the local Soviet. When the Russian officers at Ekaterinburg heard of his previous exploits, they killed him, without giving the investigation an opportunity to obtain his deposition.

Another hostile Czech was a certain Zaiček, a former Austrian officer, who was in charge of an important section of the Intelligence Department. When the former Extraordinary Komisar Yakovlev, repenting of the part he had played in the removal of the Tsar from Tobolsk, came over to the Whites and applied to General Shenik for service, he happened to come into the hands of Zaiček, who, being a traitor and a spy, took measures to have Yakovlev sent away, perhaps knowing that he had been in the confidence of Mirbach and might give the whole German show away.

* * * * *

The Omsk Government, largely composed of Socialist-Revolutionaries, gave little encouragement to the investigation. To them the murder of the ex-Tsar appeared to be a matter of quite inferior interest. The investigating magistrate, being in straits for money, applied to the Governor-General of the

[1] Admiral Kolchak was surrendered by the Czechs to the Reds at Irkutsk while he was travelling eastward in February, 1920, under the protection of the Allied flags. The order to surrender him was countersigned by the Czech 'commander-in chief.' Admiral Kolchak was shot soon afterwards in a peculiarly cruel manner.

Ural, a mining engineer named P., for a sum of 100 roubles (then worth about £1) to provide the monthly stipend of a typist. Being a member of the S. R. party, this high official refused, explaining that in his opinion no inquiry was needed, as it was clearly 'a simple case of the shooting of hostages,' too common to worry about.

When, at a later stage, this person was making his way eastward in a luxurious car stuffed with 'loot,' the officers of Ataman Semenov searched it, found several millions of Romanov roubles (the currency of the old regime, worth even now about 250 to the £), besides gold and platinum, and shot him on the spot as a 'speculator.'

The investigating magistrate was able to discover the whereabouts of a noted Bolshevist named Ilmer, who had come to Siberia secretly with an important mission from Moscow. He communicated with the Secret Service at Omsk, requesting that an officer should be sent to apprehend Ilmer. But Ilmer did not turn up. It was ascertained that the Secret Service, instead of sending the officer, had sent a telegram, with the result that Ilmer escaped.

* * * * *

Perhaps the worst enemies of the investigation were in the Ministry of Justice. It being a cardinal maxim of the Kolchak Government that it wielded supreme authority over the Russian dominions pending the convocation of a 'Constituent Assembly,' the blessed formula consecrated by advanced politicians and adopted as a *sine qua non* by the powers of the Entente, the Minister of Justice had to be a Socialist-Revolutionary. M. Starynkevich, a lawyer who had been exiled by the former regime, fulfilled the 'necessary' requirements.

He persistently and deliberately declined to treat the Tsar's murder as anything more than an ordinary penal offence, and would not appoint a special investigator. The inquiry

was therefore conducted casually. A member of the Tribunal of Ekaterinburg, without special training in criminal investigation, had the case in hand. (Curiously enough, he was of Jewish extraction.) The blunders, or worse, then committed are directly ascribable to Starynkevich.

It was only by direct and categorical orders from the Supreme Ruler (Admiral Kolchak) that the appointment of a special investigator (N. A. Sokolov) was assured. But realizing that renewed and constant attempts would be made to upset the investigation, Kolchak gave Sokolov a special warrant of appointment and otherwise supported him in his work. It was very necessary, for all that Omsk would allow him for expenses was Rs.4.50 per diem (about 6*d.*), and when he arrived in Ekaterinburg he had exactly 165 Siberian roubles (then about £2) in his possession for all outlays.

Bad enough, this was nothing to what came after. The investigation was frequently embarrassed by the excessive zeal of amateur Sherlocks or Pushfuls. In some cases their thirst for information could not be ignored, as they claimed to make their demands from a high personage friendly to the Omsk Government. In February of last year, Sokolov prepared a confidential report for transmission abroad and handed it to Admiral Kolchak. The next morning it appeared in full in the local organ of the Socialist-Revolutionary party. The paper was suppressed a few hours later, but of course the mischief had been done. The murderers knew exactly how the investigation stood. All the names of the accused and witnesses were printed in full for the whole world to read, and there also was the name of the investigator (Sokolov), whose appointment had been so distasteful to Starynkevich, practically inviting anybody to come and kill him. (A summary of the disclosed information was published in *The Times* of February 18, 1919.)

* * * * *

This same Starynkevich, now an ex-Minister, has lately come out in another 'disclosure.' He has informed the representatives of Jewry that not a single Jew was concerned in the murder of the Imperial Family. It seems almost incredible, but here is the document; it is a letter from the Secretary of the Joint Foreign Committee of the Jewish Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association, giving details of an interview with M. Starynkevich.

It says: 'the Minister, in a statement given to me written down with his own hand, and herewith literally translated, declares that:—

'On the strength of the data of the preliminary inquiry, the course of which was reported to me every week by the Attorney-General, I can certify that, among the number of persons proved by the data of the preliminary inquiry to have been guilty of the assassination of the late Emperor Nicholas II and of his family, there was not any person of Jewish descent.'

The letter proceeds:—

'I put to him the question as to how he explains the fact of General Knox having sent to the British War Office a report to the contrary. M. Starynkevich . . . said that the Russian military circles had vehemently asserted from the very outset that the assassination of the Tsar's family was the handiwork of the Jews, and that this point must be established by the inquiry. They started an investigation of their own, and insisted on the whole course of the inquiry being left to themselves.

'The Minister of Justice had to contend with great difficulties before he obtained that the inquiry should be carried out by the regular organs of his department. Even the impartial investigation did not cease to be hampered by the interference of the military. Thus, when the First Examining Magistrate, Sergeiev, had failed to discover any trace of Jewish participation in the crime, these military circles vociferously protested against him and insinuated that M. Sergeiev was a Jew himself. This campaign was so violent and persistent that the Minister of Justice had to discharge M. Sergeiev from the case and to entrust the further proceedings to another examining magistrate. His successor was likewise unable to discover any trace of Jewish participation in the murder of the Tsar's family.'

I have given this 'statement' in full to prevent any subsequent 'misapprehensions.' M. Starynkevich's record is

known to the reader. He shows himself in his written ' denial ' to be a quibbler. The degree of ' guilt ' of the implicated persons had not been fully established in the initial stages of the inquiry, but they were known to be implicated and known to be Jews. The names of Yurovsky, Goloshchekin, Safarov, Volkov are in Sergeiev's own *procès-verbaux*, and they were perfectly known by him to be Jews.

It was only natural that the maintenance of Sergeiev reputed to be of Jewish descent at the head of the investigation alarmed all who were concerned with the establishment of the truth, but M. Starynkevich carefully conceals another still more important reason for this anxiety. Sergeiev was a judge, not an investigating magistrate. He had been deputed to take over the conduct of the investigation from the first magistrate (Nametkin) in the early days of August, 1918, and, contrary to law and to the rules of criminal investigation in Russia as well as in other countries, had continued to conduct the inquiry after the formation of the government at Omsk and despite the fact that fully qualified investigating magistrates were available.

The persistent refusal of the Minister to relieve Sergeiev could be understood only in one sense. Not till February of the following year did Starynkevich at last comply with the law, but even then it was not by his own initiative.

Soon afterwards he himself had to leave. Hence his complete ignorance of the subsequent course of the investigation. His slurs upon the military are beneath contempt. But Sokolov and the dossier are here to answer him on this and any other points, if necessary.

CHAPTER XIV

BY ORDER OF THE 'TSIK'

THE murderers of the Romanovs have been unmasked in the preceding chapters, but not all of them. The parts played by Yurovsky and Goloshchekin are apparent. They were confidential agents of Yankel Sverdlov, the Red Tsar. Other very important personages, although they remained in the background, were Komisars Safarov, Voikov and Syromolotov. They occupied prominent positions in the Regional Government of the Ural, as members of the Presidium or Board of the Sovdep (Council of Deputies).

This Board it was that 'decided' that the Romanov family should be shot. The local Council, i.e. the 'representatives of the people,' knew nothing, at the time, of the execution. Had they been consulted, of course the whole city would have learned about it. We know that they first heard of it on the fourth day.

I give here a complete list of the names or cognomens of the so-called 'judges': (1) Beloborodov, (2) Goloshchekin, (3) Sakovich, (4) Voikov, (5) Bykov, (6) Syromolotov, (7) Safarov, (8) Ukraintsev, (9) Kiselev, (10) Vainer, (11) Hotimsky, (12) Vorobiev, (13) Andronikov, (14) Andreiev, (15) Simashko, (16) Avdeiev, (17) Kariakin, (18) Zhilinsky, (19) Chufarov, (20) Yurovsky, (21) Efremov, (22) Anuchin. The above formed the Oblastnoy Sovdep (Regional Council of Deputies), i.e., the representatives for the whole of the Ural region.

The Board was composed of five members, Beloborodov, the Russian 'dummy' as president, and Goloshchekin, Safarov, Voikov and Syromolotov, all four Jews, as members. The *Chrezvychaika* (Inquisition) was 'run' by Goloshchekin, Yurovsky, Efremov, Chustkevich and three other Jews.

These 'inner circles' are the men who 'tried' the Tsar and condemned him to death, in other words, assumed the duty of carrying out Sverdlov's orders. They sent 'compromising' documents to Moscow afterwards: letters alleged to have been surreptitiously exchanged between the Tsar and officers outside. They are clumsy forgeries. One of them alludes to 'five windows' facing the square as possible means of escape, whereas the Tsar's quarters comprised only two windows on that side, and if the alleged plotters had succeeded in penetrating the double barriers, scaling the house and entering as directed, they would have plumped into a veritable hornet's nest. Besides, how could they have hoped to escape the machine-gunner on the roof.

* * * * *

This mockery of a trial has been perpetuated by the 'fakes' of sensation-seekers and imaginative writers. One enterprising foreigner cabled thousands of words from Ekaterinburg not long after the murder, describing the aeroplanes that hovered over the city—presumably to carry off the Tsar—and the dropping of bombs, etc., all of which was, of course, rank nonsense; but he also gave a wonderful account by 'the Tsar's faithful servant,' whose name had never been heard of, who told with a wealth of detail how the Tsar was fetched away 'for trial' and how he came back and took an affecting leave of his wife and children before being shot all alone. . . . There are pages and pages of this stuff, and it is all absolute twaddle, but none the less mischievous.

There was no trial of any sort whatsoever. No trial—therefore no verdicts, judgments or other such-like formulæ,

and no reading of any papers to the Tsar before the family was sent to its last account. This so-called 'paper' is an invention inspired by the murderers to fit in with the Moscow story of an intended trial. The only 'paper' concocted by the murderers was the 'Decision' as to the 'execution.' At the Soviet Headquarters in Ekaterinburg numerous drafts of this document were afterwards discovered and figure in the dossier. They show how troubled the murderers were to invent a lie for open approval by Moscow.

* * * * *

Why was the Tsar moved from Tobolsk, and why was he not brought to Moscow, as Yakovlev had been instructed? It is absurd on the face of it to hint that the Ural Regional Sovdep was overriding the decisions of Moscow. We have just seen that the virtual rulers of the Ural were Yankel Sverdlov's fellow-Jews and associates, even subordinates.

An answer is offered by the Soviet organ of May 4, 1918. It explains that it was 'owing to alleged indications of efforts being made by local peasants and by Monarchist groups to promote escape.' We trace here the handiwork of Soloviev and Vasiliev. And it adds: 'The regional Soviet of the Urals are charged with surveillance over the Imperial Family.' (*The Times*, May 6, 1918.)

But while this answer goes a certain way and definitely involves the responsibility of the Moscow Government for all that happened in the Urals, it by no means tells the whole truth. The inside history of Yakovlev's mission has been explained. Yakovlev was the agent of Sverdlov. But Sverdlov as president of the Tsik[1] was over the foreign as well as the domestic affairs of Sovietdom, being in fact Prime

[1] Even this high body (the Red Cabinet of Ministers) was, like all Soviet institutions, ruled by an Inner Ring (Presidium or Executive Committee), which was (and is) invariably composed of Jews, with one or two Russians as lay figures.

Minister. Now Sverdlov had been a paid agent of Germany and was still in the closest touch and relationship with Mirbach. The Tsar's own definition of Yakovlev's mission was unquestionably right, in substance, if not in detail—to obtain his endorsement of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

The Soviet organs published long accounts of Yakovlev's journey. In these he is falsely described as the representative of the Sovnarkom, i.e. of Lenin's parliament. That was merely to cover up the tracks. Yakovlev is quoted as speaking of Nicholas Romanov as a pleasant enough person, but of 'extraordinarily limited intellect.' You see, he was not clever enough to realize the advantages that were offered to him.

The Germans, of course, were extremely displeased by this contretemps, more especially as it came in conjunction with the failure of their plan to nobble the Russian *intelligentzia* and with their aid to set up the 'new government' that Ludendorff craved. One of Mirbach's chief assistants, a Dr. Ritzler, then remarked to one of these Russians, that 'the Bolsheviks are still necessary.' A few months later the Red Terror avenged the slight inflicted upon the German associates of Sverdlov.

* * * * *

Voikov, the Jew, boasted to his 'lady' friends in Ekaterinburg after the murder, that 'the world will never know what we did with the bodies.' It was his accomplices that suggested to the remorse-stricken Fesenko that the 'cinders were not there.' The insolent confidence in the superiority of their 'precautions' displayed by Voikov is characteristic of his race.

The murderers invented another story in Perm, of which I have not yet spoken. Their agents gave information that one of the Grand Duchesses had been seen in the city and that she had been shot during the Terror some months after the

'execution' at Ekaterinburg. They were quite positive about it. They even pointed out the place where 'Anastasia' had been buried. The bodies—there were many—were exhumed; the only one that was a young woman's was unmistakably identified by the local police as that of 'Nastia Vorovka' (the thief Nastia), a well-known criminal.

* * * * *

The Komisar Safarov, afterwards editor of the official *Izvestiya*, wrote an article on the 'execution' which figures in the dossier as an interesting sidelight on the motives of the crime and its methods. It is only fair that the accused should speak for themselves. I here give a plain, unvarnished rendering of this 'defence':—

'In the places seized by the Czecho-Slovaks and bands of White Guards in Siberia and the Southern Ural, authority has fallen into the hands of Black Hundred pogromists composed of purest Monarchists by profession. The real intentions of the White Guards of the Quadruple Entente are made plain by the mere fact that at the head of them all, as supreme war-lord, stands the Tsar's general Alexeiev, the most devoted servant of Nicholas the Sanguinary, himself a convinced blood-shedder (*palách*). . . .

'Around Nicholas all the time was spread an artful network of conspiracies. One of them was discovered during the transit from Tobolsk to Ekaterinburg.' (Safarov here suggests that Yakovlev was a traitor, and passes over in silence the whole history of the interrupted journey. This compels the inference, which is borne out by scores of direct evidences, that the Tsik, i.e. Sverdlov, deliberately sent the Romanovs into a death-trap.) Safarov continues: 'Another plot was discovered just before the execution of Nicholas. The participants in the last conspiracy to deliver the murderer of workmen and peasants out of a peasant-workman's prison clearly identified their hopes with the hope that the Red capital of the Ural would be occupied by Czecho-Slovak White Guard pogromists.

'General Alexeiev wanted to bring over into his Stavka (G.H.Q.) his own Tsar.' (The General had long been dead when Safarov wrote this article.) 'His calculations have not been justified. The people's assizes (*narodny sud*) have judged the All-Russian murderer and anticipated the plans of the counter-revolution. The will of the Revolution has been accomplished, although many of the formal aspects of *bourgeois* legal procedure were infringed, and the traditional, historical ceremonial of the execution of "crowned personages" was not observed. The peasant working-man's authority here also expressed

itself in a form of extreme democratism ; [1] it made no difference for the All-Russian murderer and had him shot just like an ordinary robber (*razboinik*). Nicholas the Sanguinary is no more, and the workmen and peasants may with full right say to their enemies : You played your stake on the Imperial crown. You have lost. Take your change —an empty crowned head.'

The Russian peasants at Ekaterinburg looked at the matter differently. They caught Vaganov, one of the regicides, and killed him on the spot. It was very distressful to the Investigating Magistrate, but he could not prosecute the peasants : there were too many of them, and they would not have understood. It had appeared to them the right thing to do, to slay the Russian who had laid hands upon the Tsar.

But Safarov eludes the issue he himself raises. Why not

[1] Here is the way democratism ' was applied. I cite Bolshevist writers :—

The ' instruction ' issued by the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to all Provincial Extraordinary Commissions (*chrezvychaiki*) says : ' The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission is perfectly independent in its work, carrying out house searches, arrests, executions, which it afterwards reports to the Council of the People's Commissaries (Sovnavkom) and to the Central Executive Council (Tsik). The Provincial and District Extraordinary Commissions are independent in their activities, and when called upon by the local Executive Council (Ispolkom) present a report of their work. In so far as house searches and arrests are concerned, a report made afterwards may result in putting right irregularities committed owing to lack of restraint. The same cannot be said of executions. . . . It can also be seen from the " instruction " that personal safety is to a certain extent guaranteed only to members of the Government, of the Central Executive Council (Tsik) and of the local Executive Committees (Ispolkom). With the exception of these few persons all members of the local committees of the (Bolshevik) party, of the Control Committees and of the Executive Committee of the party may be shot at any time by the decision of any Extraordinary Commission of a small district town if they happen to be on its territory, and a report of that made afterwards.' (From an article by M. Alminsky, *Pravda*, October 8, 1918.)

Comrade Bokiv gave details of the work of the Petrograd District Commission since the evacuation of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Moscow. The total number of arrested persons was 6,220. Eight hundred were shot (during about six months). (From a report of a meeting of the Conference of the Extraordinary Commission, *Izvestiya*, October 19, 1918, No. 228.)

PLATE VIII

THE FAULTS OF THE EARLIER INQUIRY

N. A. Sokolov, pointing to the wall of Ipatiev's house, calls attention to a serious omission made by his predecessor. General Diterichs (seated) listens. The other auditor is M. Magnitsky, Prokuror (Public Prosecutor) of the Ekaterinburg Court. Photograph taken in the garden, beside the terrace.

THE HAND OF THE RED JEW MURDERERS

A facsimile of the original message filed at the Ekaterinburg Telegraph Office by the local Soviet chiefs to the Moscow Tsik (Central Executive Committee) on July 4, 1918, twelve days before the murder. In it Beloborodov, the Russian 'dummy' president, informs Sverdlov through Goloshchekin that Syromolotov is hastening to Moscow to take the final instructions for the 'affair,' and that the Russian guards have been replaced by 'others,' *i.e.*, by German soldiers.

THE FAULTS OF THE EARLIER INQUIRY

МОСКВА

Председателю ЦИК Свердлову

для ГОЛОЩЕКИНА.

Сыромолотов какраз поехал для организации дела согласно указаний Центра опасения напрасны точка Авдеев сменен его помощник Мошкин арестован вместо Авдеева Юровский внутренний караул весь сменен заменяется другими точка.- 4558

Белобородов

4/VII Телеграмму прочел

THE HAND OF THE RED JEW MURDERERS

have sent the Tsar for trial to the capital, to Moscow? Surely that was the place where the 'will of the Revolution' could have been properly displayed! All these wonderful conspiracies of which he speaks made it all the more necessary to send him there and save the Ural Soviet from all responsibility. The approach of the Whites should have caused the local chieftains not to delay one single day. Why not? Because Sverdlov had already sent for Syromolotov to arrange the murder.

The cynical references to '*bourgeois* legal procedure' and to 'historical ceremonial' will, it is to be hoped, put an end for ever to the legend of a 'trial.'

* * * * *

Yankel Sverdlov conversed with his agents in Ekaterinburg over the direct wire before and after the murder, giving directions when necessary. They forgot to destroy all evidence of these conversations. When the investigation was confided to experienced and fearless hands, one of the first measures taken was to thoroughly overhaul the records of the telegraph office. It yielded astonishing results. I give some of the documents in this and the following chapters.

Here is the record of a conversation between the Red Tsar and, apparently, Beloborodov, the former in Moscow, the latter in Ekaterinburg. This record was written in pencil on the backs of telegram blanks. There are six such blanks. The writing is evidently of one and the same person. It consists of questions asked by Sverdlov and answers thereto. The record was made obviously on July 20, four days after the murder. Here it is, textually translated :—

What is heard with you?

The position on the front is somewhat better than it appeared yesterday. It is ascertained that the opponent has denuded all fronts and flung all his forces on Ekaterinburg. Can we hold Ekaterinburg long? It is difficult to say. We are taking all measures to hold it. Everything superfluous has been evacuated from Ekaterinburg. Yesterday a courier left with the documents that interest you. Com-

municate the decision of the Tsik, and may we acquaint the population by means of the text that you know ?

At a meeting of the Tsik presidium on the 18th it was decided (*postanovleno*) to recognize the decision of the Ur. Reg. Sovdep as regular (*pravilnym*). You may publish your own text. With us yesterday, in all the newspapers was inserted a corresponding announcement. I have this instant sent for the exact text and will communicate it to you (*tebié*, i.e. to thee. Sverdlov is speaking to an inferior).

* * * * *

This moment I shall hand over the exact text of our publication. . . .

I do not reproduce it. There is no need. The 'wireless' printed in *The Times* of July 22, 1918, is the exact and accurate translation of the text given in this conversation recorded in Ekaterinburg two days previously. (The Moscow and the Ekaterinburg texts are given in Chapter X.)

What better evidence could be found of the genuineness of the above record ? It stops there. But it tells us volumes. It is the language of conspirators, of accomplices in a crime and of a superior whose orders and whose initiative alone count. Yankel Sverdlov assumes his true proportions. He and the Bolshevist Government in which he was omnipotent as president of the Central Executive Committee (Tsik) and virtually chief also of the Red Inquisition are for ever identified with the murders that have been described in this work.

The courier referred to is Yurovsky. We know that he left on the 19th with the plunder and, it is believed, the 'heads.' The Whites were only beginning to concentrate their forces. That was four days after the 'execution.'

* * * * *

But why all these precautions ? If the people are so anxious to try and punish their late ruler, why resort to all manner of subterfuges, both in committing the 'execution' and in acquainting the people with the death of their 'oppressor' ?

The answer is a simple one : Sverdlov and his associates were not sure of the people. The reason of that is equally simple : they were not Russians ; they were Jews. They

were 'internationalists,' repudiating all nationality, yet disguised under Russian names. The Russians in their midst were dupes or dummies. Krassin might come to clear the ground, but Apfelbaum-Kamenev appeared for the serious work. What happened in London in 1920 is comparable in a modest way with the Red mechanism in Russia itself.

Taken according to numbers of population, the Jews represented one in ten ; among the komisars that rule Bolshevist Russia they are nine in ten—if anything, the proportion of Jews is still greater.

These men feared the Russian people, they feared the Romanovs because they were Russians, they feared Nicholas Romanov because he had been a Russian Tsar, and when he refused to be seduced from his loyalty to his people and to the Allies they resolved that he should die—he and all the Romanovs. This resolve was carried out when the advance of anti-Bolshevist forces gave a reasonable hope of sophisticating the crime and avoiding a just punishment. And so definite was Jew-ruled Moscow on the necessity of the ex-Tsar's death that a whole month before the murder the report persisted that Nicholas II was dead.

On June 21 the Komisar of the Press, named Stark, telegraphed to the Presidium of the Sovdep at Ekaterinburg : 'Urgently inform regarding authenticity reports Nicholas Romanov killed.' On the 23rd Bonch-Bruevich, the secretary of the Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissaries, of which Lenin is president), telegraphed to the President of the Ekaterinburg Sovdep (i.e. Beloborodov) : 'Information circulating Moscow alleging former Emperor Nicholas the Second killed. Send any available information.' A certain Boyard arrived in Ekaterinburg on July 9 and telegraphed to the French Consul in Moscow : 'Am staying meanwhile at British Consulate. Reports about Romanov false."

* * * * *

The Germans knew what they were doing when they sent Lenin's pack of Jews into Russia. They chose them as agents of destruction. Why? Because the Jews were not Russians and to them the destruction of Russia was all in the way of business, revolutionary or financial. The whole record of Bolshevism in Russia is indelibly impressed with the stamp of alien invasion. The murder of the Tsar, deliberately planned by the Jew Sverdlov (who came to Russia as a paid agent of Germany) and carried out by the Jews Goloshchekin, Syromolotov, Safarov, Voikov and Yurovsky, is the act not of the Russian people, but of this hostile invader.

* * * * *

The Jewish domination in Russia is supported by certain Russians: the 'burgess' Ulianov, *alias* Lenin, the 'noble' Chicherin, the 'dissenter' Bonch-Bruevich. They are all mere screens or dummies behind which the Sverdlovs and the thousand and one Jews of Sovdepia continue their work of destruction; having wrecked and plundered Russia by appealing to the ignorance of the working folk, they are now using their dupes to set up a new tyranny worse than any that the world has known.

* * * * *

Sovietdom has consecrated three heroes to whom monuments have been erected: to Karl Marx, to Judas Iscariot, and to Leo Tolstoi, the three names that are associated with Revolution, Apostasy, and Anarchism; two of them Jews.

* * * * *

When the Jew Kanegisser assassinated the Jew Uritsky, the Soviets ordained a Terror throughout the land. Rivers of Russian blood had to wipe away the stain caused by a Jew who dared to oppose the Jewish rulers of unhappy Russia.

CHAPTER XV

THE RED KAISER

WHEN Yakovlev failed to remove the Tsarevich from Tobolsk and to ' convert ' the Tsar, he disappointed Mirbach more than he disappointed Sverdlov.

The Jews feared the Russians, but the Germans wanted to use them. The Red Tsar planned to exterminate the Romanovs, but the Red Kaiser proposed to reinstate Nicholas.

For a time their respective schemes assumed divergent courses ; in the end, Wilhelm's agents realized that they could not dissociate themselves from the Red Tsar, and it was the latter's plan that prevailed. But, morally as well as practically, the German hand which had brought the Jew murderers into Russia, controlled and directed the assassins' work. Only when Berlin realized that the Romanovs were irrevocably on the side of the Entente did they release the hands of the murderers.

The proposal that Yakovlev brought to Tobolsk was much more insidious than the Tsar understood it to be. Nicholas was not only to endorse the peace concluded at Brest ; he was to seize the reins of power with the help of German bayonets and to give his only son to be a lawful Tsar under German tutelage. This meant the intervention of Russia in the war again, but on the German side. The Red Kaiser and his staff did not trust their Red agents any more.

While Yakovlev went to Tobolsk as envoy extraordinary of the Tsik (but in reality of the German G.H.Q.), the official representative of Germany to the Soviet Government, with which

she was in treaty and in virtual alliance, was summoning a secret conference of Anti-Soviet Russians to arrange for the advent of the 'new government' desired by Ludendorff.

It was a very pretty scheme, quite on German lines. But it failed at every point. The Germans once more had shown a total incapacity to understand human nature. Nicholas scorned the base overtures; the Russian *intelligentsia* displayed, on this occasion, a sound understanding of their duties and interests.[1] The illness of Alexis was another obstacle, though in itself it made no difference.

* * * * *

Sverdlov was not disturbed by Yakovlev's failure to bring Nicholas and Alexis to Moscow. He had his agents everywhere. While Soloviev acted as watch-dog over the captives of Tobolsk so that no stranger to German plans should spirit them away, innumerable Red Solovievs hemmed the captives in. The common herd of the Soviets knew nothing, of course. The strings were cunningly and discreetly pulled from Moscow according to the best methods of Potsdam and Wilhelmstrasse.

No sooner had Yakovlev started on the terrible rush of 160 miles over bogs and rivers running deep water over breaking ice to Tiumen, than the Jewish conclave in Ekaterinburg received its orders—to stop the travellers at all costs. Omsk was at once 'stampeded' by the false statement that Yakovlev was trying to arrange a rescue. Yakovlev was really seeking to escape the North Ural net by taking the South Ural route. He did not have to go through Omsk at all, but to change from the Perm on to the Samara line. There was no escaping out of the country by that route then. It could lead only to Moscow. Nevertheless, this train turned back to Ekaterinburg. Sverdlov did not really want the Romanovs to go further. He could not afford to quarrel

[1] See footnote, Chapter VII.

openly with his former paymasters, but he was probably shrewd enough and sufficiently well informed to suspect their secret designs.

The talk of a trial in Moscow did not begin till much later, when Moscow rumour reported the Tsar as already defunct, and solely as an antidote to those rumours, as they threatened to upset the plan of murder.

Sakovich, formerly surgeon in a hussar regiment and ex-ultra-monarchist, appertained to the Ural Regional Sovdep as Komisar of Health. He deposed afterwards that he had overheard Goloshchekin, Safarov and Voikov discussing with Beloborodov the alternative of wrecking the train with Nicholas Romanov or of 'arranging' an accident. In the former case, the responsibility would be placed on 'counter-revolutionaries' trying to effect a rescue. He did not listen to all the details as it did not concern his department. But the Jews did not have to carry out the plan then. The Germans were still in favour of the survival of Nicholas. The idea was carried out some months later at Alapaevsk. I have a copy of the message sent afterwards to Moscow and Petrograd in which the murderers seriously describe the 'rescue' staged by them after the murder as having been the cause of the grand ducal 'disappearance.'

* * * * *

The Romanovs were suffered to live. A German mission (ostensibly Red Cross) came to Ekaterinburg at the end of May to ascertain all about the life of the 'residents of Ipatiev's house,' as the Imperial prisoners were officially styled. These spies went straight to Berlin with their report. The Red Kaiser knew full well what torments were being endured by those whom he had professed to cherish, who after all were his kith and kin. He could have saved them at any time. But . . . they would not be saved by him. . . .

Mirbach's death did not, perhaps, introduce any modi-

fication of the plan of slaughter. He was assassinated one week before the event. The Bolsheviks declared that his death was an act of provocation committed by their Socialist opponents and gravely resolved that they must not quarrel with Germany, because that would only be playing into the hands of the assassins. This solemn farce had a deeper meaning.

* * * * *

During the summer of that year the Siberian anti-Bolshevist units began to grow in numbers and strength. The Germans had themselves foolishly promoted this reaction by arresting the departure of the Czechs and compelling them to fight. A Siberian Army was quickly springing into existence. It might drive the Red Tsar out of Moscow and thus, instead of an ally or agent there, the Red Kaiser would find himself confronted by a hostile Russia. The war was slowly dragging to its fateful end ; every battalion counted. The Entente knew what the assistance of Russia meant, so the Entente went to the aid of the Czechs and Siberians.

Ludendorff does justice to this tragic dilemma in his book of *War Memories* :—

'. . . The Entente, realizing that they could not work with a Government which looked for support to Germany, took action against Bolshevism, and instead of sending these troops (the Czechs) to France, held them up along the Siberian railway on the frontier between Russia and Siberia, in order to fight the Government in Moscow. In addition to this, by garrisoning the railway, the Entente prevented the return of our prisoners of war from Siberia. This was unquestionably a serious loss to us.' (Vol. II, p. 654.)

The holding up of the Czechs was Ludendorff's own work. He is ashamed to admit it, and puts the cart before the horse in pleading that the Entente displayed such far-sighted activity. Moreover, it was precisely the German-Magyar prisoners of war who, rallying to the appeal of their Kaisers, stopped the departure of the Czechs. Ludendorff is too modest. But his statement makes one point crystal-clear : that in the German view the plan to get rid of the played-out

Red Tsar, to put a subservient White Tsar in his place, had to be dropped. The Red Tsar might still be useful yet. As Dr. Ritzler had remarked: 'The Bolsheviks are still necessary.'

The usefulness of the Bolsheviks was to be twofold: (1) to defend the German front in Russia; (2) to prevent the White Tsar from joining the Russian forces of the Entente.

* * * * *

This being the story of the Tsar's murder, we are concerned chiefly with the second part of Yankel Sverdlov's German programme. How was it to be carried out so that there should be no possible mistake? Obviously, there was only one way—through death's dark portals. To bring the Tsar or the Tsarevich to Moscow would involve risks. The Jews were in a fright; telegrams discovered in Ekaterinburg show that they trusted none of the Russians in their employ. That is why the Romanovs remained in Ekaterinburg.

Four days before Mirbach's assassination, consequently while the Red Tsar had his daily audiences with the representative of the Red Kaiser, Goloshchekin was already in Moscow, and had discussed the murder with Sverdlov, had telegraphed to Beloborodov to send another member of the conclave to Moscow.

The Germans approved the murder; there can be no doubt on this point. The position held by Mirbach in Moscow, his daily reports from the members of the Red Inquisition, which naturally had the closest connexion with the arrangements for the murder, such as the sending to Ekaterinburg of the ten Magyar-German 'Letts' as executioners, are conclusive evidences. The Red Tsar and the Red Kaiser were in accord.

But it was absolutely essential that no Russians should be left inside the house where the Romanovs were to die. Whether the Germans assented to the wholesale slaughter that took place remains in doubt. By that time Mirbach

had gone to his last account, and the bloodthirstiness of the Jewish murderers perhaps exceeded the German design, and therein may be found a good reason for the report of their 'safety'; but the Red Kaiser cannot escape responsibility for the whole crime any more than can the Red Tsar who planned it and the Soviet regime that rendered such a butchery possible.

* * * * *

Here is a translation of the original typewritten telegram found in the archives of the telegraph office in Ekaterinburg and included in the dossier:—

MOSCOW.

To President of Tsik SVERDLOV *for* GOLOSHCHEKIN.

Syromolotov has just gone for organization of affair in accordance with directions of Centre. Apprehensions unfounded stop. Avdeiev superseded, his assistant Moshkin arrested. Yurovsky replaces Avdeiev. Interior guard all relieved replaced by others. 4558.

BELOBORODOV.

Below the text in black ink is marked the date, '4/VII,' and further, in ink of the same colour, 'Telegram received,' after which in black pencil is the signature, 'Komisar To——' (the rest of the name illegible), this representative of the Soviet being in charge of the telegraph office and endorsing all official messages as they were handed in for transmission.

The message is its own explanation. It is a full and crushing confirmation of all that has preceded—fear of the Russians; preparation of the murder; direction of the plan from Moscow, and eagerness of the local Jews to anticipate the signal for the butchery. The horrible servility of the dummy president, Beloborodov, is disclosed in all its nakedness. He hastens to assure his Jewish masters that their 'apprehensions' are 'unfounded.' The German-Magyars who had done their best to carry out the Red Kaiser's behest to capture Siberia and to crush any hope of Russia's military revival, were now called in to consummate the Red Kaiser's plan by murdering the Tsar.

* * * * *

For all that has been stated in these chapters there is unimpeachable authority. There is the dossier. And there is the overwhelming corroboration of the horrible realities that have converted a large part of Europe into a charnel; Russia into a pest-house, and the rest of the world into a hotbed of unrest.

And pre-eminent among the doers of evil, murderers and despoilers, has been the Red Kaiser.

When, in 1915, he wrote to the Tsar, asking him to recall the days when they were friends, and Nicholas, mindful of the bitter lessons that friendship had entailed, replied that those days must for ever be forgotten, Wilhelm of Hohenzollern started the machinery that was to sweep out of existence the Tsardom and Russia, and the hapless Romanovs.

In the autumn of 1915 there assembled in Vienna the representatives of the German and Austrian General Staffs to discuss a plan for the promotion of a revolutionary movement in Russia. It was then that all the outlines of the 'Russian' revolution were laid down; it was at that meeting that the leading actors in the Red tragedy were chosen: the Lenins and the Sverdlovs and the host of Jewish wreckers, who spent the interval between their engagement and their appearance on the Russian stage in the calm of Swiss resorts, studying and rehearsing their parts.

* * * * *

The money that financed the 'Russian' revolution was German money, and—I say it on the strongest evidence which can be corroborated in the German secret archives—YANKEL SVERDLOV RECEIVED A SALARY FROM THE GERMANS TILL NOVEMBER 7, 1917, when, becoming Red Tsar of All the Russias, he had at his disposal loot unimaginable.

And thus it came to pass that the Germans who slew the Tsar and the Jews who organized, aided and abetted the murder, each left his marks upon the walls of Ipatiev's house.

CHAPTER XVI

EPILOGUE

MANY hundreds of relics were collected in and around Ekaterinburg by the law, and more particularly by the military, officers of the White Government. The larger number had no value as clues. They were personal belongings—jewellery, clothing, linen—that had been stolen before and after the murder. By Admiral Kolchak's orders, this property was taken to Vladivostok by General Diterichs in February, 1919, and sent to the Tsar's sister, the Grand Duchess Xenia, as next-of-kin.

Those of the Romanovs who had not been in the power of the Soviets and had succeeded in leaving the country were destitute. The total fortune belonging to the Tsar in England amounted to £500.

Two days after the murder, the Soviet Government issued a decree declaring all the property and possessions of the Romanovs forfeited to them. This act had a double purpose: to afford any banks holding funds to the credit of the family a pretext for non-payment; to 'legitimise' the robbery of the corpses in the wood and the appropriation of the valuables left in Ekaterinburg.

The ropes of pearls and the matchless pearl necklace snatched from the bodies have been the objects of barter on the Continental and London markets. Red missions smuggled in a huge quantity of jewels belonging to the Crown and to the Romanovs personally as well as to other individuals—all 'forfeited' in the same manner.

* * * * *

Among the relics was a private code that was found in the ventilator of the Ipatiev lavatory. It bore the following inscription in the Empress's hand: 'For my own beloved Nicky, dear, to use when he is absent from his "spitzbub." Fr. his lovingly, Alice. Osborne, July, 1894.' The German word had been erased and rewritten in Russian! The owner of this little book had evidently prized it above everything else, and fearing that it might be taken away from him had hidden it—hoping, no doubt, to claim it some day.

Also among the mementoes from the funeral pyre came a ruby that belonged to the murdered Empress. It was identified by her maid, who told the following story: 'The Emperor gave her Majesty a ruby ring when she was only fifteen. They fell in love even then. It was at the wedding of her sister the Grand Duchess Elizabeth. After that they thought about each other for eight years. The Empress always wore the ruby ring hanging on a chain on her breast.'

The spaniel Joy also came to England. Both the dogs that were most highly prized by the Imperial family were of English breeds. Jemmy, who died with her masters, was a diminutive black-and-tan King Charles, so small that she could not mount the Ipatiev stairs unaided.

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The sufferings of the Romanovs in Ipatiev's house were so terrible that it is not seemly to misrepresent them, as some writers have done, in sordid fashion. I have the inventory of the house and its contents, signed by Ipatiev and the Komisars; I have the *procès-verbal* of Sergeiev's inspection, made within a fortnight of the murder; lastly, I have the evidence of my own eyes. The house itself contained every comfort and convenience: electric light, excellent stoves, a well-appointed bath-room and lavatory, electric bells everywhere, plenty of good and even luxurious furniture. The bath was in working order, and, when Sergeiev visited it, contained

firewood for the heater, sheets bearing the Imperial monogram, and a cake of soap on the rack, besides numerous other signs of frequent usage. The brutal guards, being used to the Russian steam-bath, were not interested in this 'outlandish' contrivance, and except for their prying and offensive habits did not apparently stand in the way of personal cleanliness.

The story of the girlish locks shorn because of the impossibility of other methods of combating dirt and its consequences is not borne out by the evidence. 'Combings' of hair of four different hues were found; also some short hair in the bath-room. One would expect to find them. It is stated in the dossier that a barber visited the house to attend the Tsar and the Tsarevich.

Each member of the family had his or her bed. There were sheets, pillows and blankets. There was a wash-house in the courtyard.

For some reason the house was deficient in crockery, plate and table-linen, hence quite needless discomfort was inflicted upon the family at meal-times. The peasant-guards, inoculated with the anti-bourgeois theories, saw no particular hardship in their feeding out of one dish, as they themselves were accustomed to do in the villages.

The torment that was endured by the captives was far worse than any merely physical privations. But one such privation did affect them very grievously: the utter impossibility of seeing anything at all beyond the painted glass of their windows. The youngest Grand Duchess (Anastasia) could not brook this privation any longer one day, and managed to open a window in the girls' room. She almost paid for this act with her life. The sentry in the inner hoarding immediately fired, just missing her. The bullet lodged in the window-frame. Anastasia gained nothing except a fright. She saw nothing except the hoarding and the sentry, and did not wait for a second shot.

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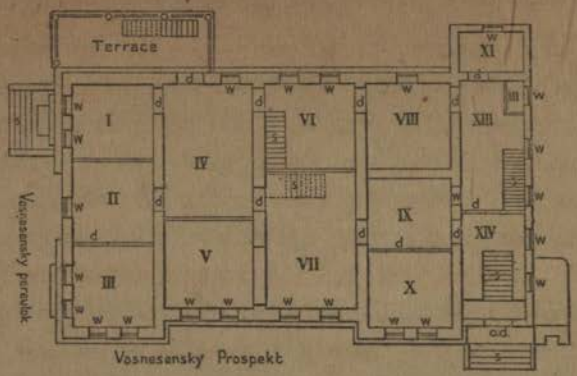
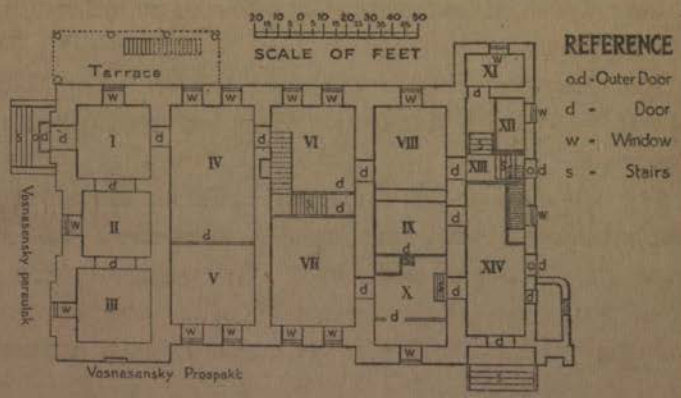
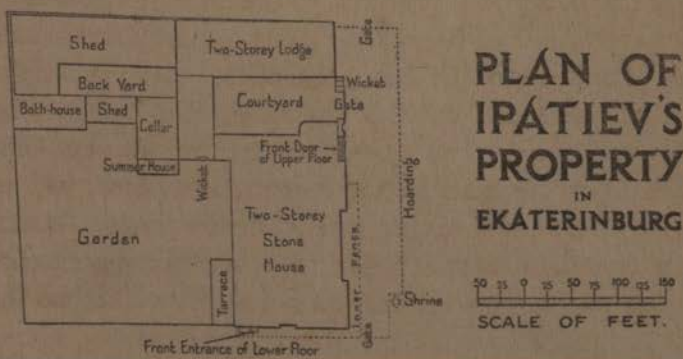


PLAN OF UPPER STOREY~IPATIEV'S HOUSE



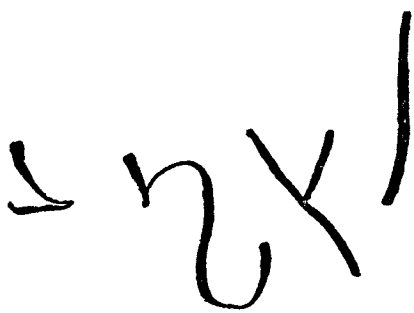
PLAN OF LOWER FLOOR



PLAN OF IPATIEV'S PROPERTY IN EKATERINBURG

In the room where the Imperial couple and Alexis lived and slept—next to the chamber in which their four daughters were crowded—Alexandra placed a good-luck sign. It was so unobtrusive that Gaida, the Czech commander who forcibly installed himself in this room, probably did not notice it. In pencil she formed the mystic sign of the swastika and inscribed the date '1730 April,' the day of her arrival in the house.

In the death-chamber in addition to the 'Belsatzar' inscription was one that has yet to be deciphered. It is in thick black ink, written with an expert hand, and just below, on the window-sill, are three groups of figures that may or may not have a meaning.



THE MYSTERIOUS INSCRIPTION IN THE DEATH CHAMBER.

THE EMPRESS ALEXANDRA'S GOOD-LUCK SIGN.

* * * * *

Some of the persons with whom the reader has become familiar have gone to their last account.

The Russian regicide Medvedev died in prison of typhus early last year. His accomplice Yakimov died in prison of inflammation of the lungs at the end of last year. Their death and burial certificates are both in the dossier.

Yurovsky wrote a letter to a certain Dr. A. before he fled from Ekaterinburg imploring him to protect his old mother, 'who does not share my views, but who may suffer simply because I am her son.' It is at once an avowal of guilt and

a proof that even the most bloodthirsty wretch has some good in him. This man had coolly tortured, murdered and cut up innocent children, and was not able to remove his old mother because he had to take the proofs of his crime to Moscow; yet he does not forget her. Before the Kolchak armies left Ekaterinburg we heard that Yurovsky had been seen in the city. Had he come at great risk to look for his mother? Sokolov had had her removed to Irkutsk. She feared and loathed her son.

Yankel Sverdlov, the Red Tsar, died in Moscow early in 1919. He was knocked on the head by the workmen at one of the Morozov mills, and succumbed to concussion of the brain. Sovietdom was in an uproar. It was officially announced that this 'valiant defender of the people's rights' had come to a natural end, by inflammation of the lungs. Nevertheless, the Chrezvychaika could not allow the Red Tsar to be so dishonoured. Yankel was followed to the outer bourne by thousands of innocent victims offered up in holocaust to his memory.

The mortal remains of the blood-stained agent and associate of the Red Kaiser were exposed to the public gaze and given a pompous Red funeral, and the Theatre Square which faces the building where Yankel had spun his web of blood received a new name, the accursed name of Sverdlov.

None of the Red Jews dared to wear the mantle of Yankel Sverdlov openly. His office was delegated to Kalinin, a 'dummy' of the Beloborodov variety, who provided the needful Russian screen to cloak their villainies. For there was no change in the spirit of the Red Jew government of Russia, only an adaptation of methods, a variation of victims—first the *bourgeois*, then the *proletire.*

* * * * *

The Russians who fought and bled for their country are almost extinct. One of the last who died in the sacred cause was Nicholas II and the other Romanov victims of the Red

invaders, German and Jewish. A remnant persisted to the end. To them the Red usurpers of Moscow could never be anything except an alien domination.

I recall the night before we left Ekaterinburg. The Reds were approaching, but Sokolov went into the darkness and the rain to obtain the evidence of important peasant witnesses. He told them who he was and the object of his call. They could have locked him up in a cellar and given him up to the Reds. It was to their advantage to do so. By giving him information they incurred great risk. He explained it all to them. 'And now what will you do?' he asked. 'Will you help justice? Will you remember that he who is dead was your Tsar?' They did not hesitate one instant. They chose the path of honour, of justice, of self-sacrifice. They gave their evidence and brought Sokolov on his way.

It is the peasant that will bring Russia back to new life. Alexandra's vision may yet come true, and Nicholas and the Romanovs may not have died in vain.

AUTHOR'S POSTSCRIPTUM

I HAVE alluded in my opening chapter to the reasons that prevented me from publishing the text of the dossier which had been committed to my care. Other persons have not been so meticulous. But since the indiscretion has been committed in another country, I have no reason to object to publication here, and as incomplete or distorted versions of the documents may be issued by irresponsible persons, I think it only right, after reading the translations, to say that I find that they have been made from accurate copies of the original depositions.

ROBERT WILTON.

LONDON,
August 19, 1920.

THE STORY OF THE PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AT the end of July, 1918, the town of Ekaterinburg was taken from the Bolsheviks by the forces of the Siberian Government. Shortly after their occupation of the district an investigation was ordered to be made of the circumstances attendant on the murder of the Imperial Family at Ekaterinburg, as the news of the crime had broken through the barriers of Bolshevism, and was already known in Russia and to the world at large.

An administrative investigation of the crime therefore took place, followed by a judicial examination of the witnesses connected with the life of the Imperial Family at Tsarskoe-Selo, Tobolsk and Ekaterinburg by N. A. Sokolov, the Investigating Magistrate for Cases of Special Importance of the Omsk Tribunal.

The combined depositions which are now published for the first time reconstruct the life-story of the Imperial Family from the time of the Emperor's abdication until the murder of himself, his wife, his children and their few faithful servants in Ipatiev's house at Ekaterinburg.

Copies of the depositions were taken from the archives by M. George G. Tellberg, Professor of Law at the University of Saratov, and Minister of Justice at Omsk, when he fled with the other ministers of Kolchak's Government.

The translator has endeavoured to preserve the original simplicity, and in some cases the crudeness and lack of education apparent in the witnesses. Colonel Kobylinsky, M. Gillard and Mr. Gibbes are educated men who apparently gave their evidence without displaying any outward emotion, but although they did not exaggerate the sufferings of the Imperial Family, they were not eye-witnesses of the final hours of their captivity.

The evidence of the soldiers strikes a more sinister note. Two of them witnessed most of the daily happenings at Ipatiev's house, but they display certain evidences of pity, and of having been well-disposed towards the prisoners, whose murder they condemned. Indeed, these men are most insistent that the crime was committed by the 'Letts.' The third soldier (Medvedev) took an active part in the murder.

Part II

(A.)—TSARSKOE-SELO TO TOBOLSK

MARCH 2 (15), 1917, TO APRIL 13 (26), 1918

THE DEPOSITIONS OF COLONEL KOBYLINSKY

THE deposition of Colonel Kobylinsky affords complete documentary evidence of the conditions of life experienced by the Imperial Family from March, 1917, until May, 1918, during which time they were under his charge. Colonel Kobylinsky appears to have been a brave soldier and a just man, who did what he considered to be his duty, but who treated the unfortunate prisoners with humanity and courtesy. His statement will be of enormous value to historians of the future, inasmuch as it reveals a new aspect of the character of the Emperor Nicholas II, and negatives the pro-German tendencies of which both he and the Empress have been so persistently accused.

On April 6-10, 1918, the Investigating Magistrate for Cases of Special Importance of the Omsk Tribunal questioned in Ekaterinburg, in conformity with Paragraph 443 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the undermentioned person in the capacity of a witness. The witness stated :—

My name is

EUGENE STEPANOVITCH KOBYLINSKY.

I am forty years of age, and I am a Colonel attached to the Command of the Tiumen Military District. I belong to the

Orthodox Church. At the beginning of the Great War I was in command of a company of the Petrogradsky Guards regiment.

On November 8 (21), 1914, I was wounded in the foot by a rifle bullet. In July, 1916, I was severely shell-shocked on the Austrian Front during the battle near Gouta-Staraya. The shell-shock was productive of very bad results, as I developed kidney trouble. In September, 1916, I was sent to the hospital in Tsarskoe-Selo. From this hospital I was sent to Yalta, and on my return to Tsarskoe-Selo in 1916 I was reported as physically unfit for active service, and I was transferred to the reserve battalion of my regiment. I was in this battalion at the beginning of the revolution.

Late in the evening of March 5 (18), I was ordered to report myself at the headquarters of the Petrograd Military District. At 11 p.m. I went to the headquarters and was told that I had been sent for by General Kornilov (the famous Kornilov, who at this time was commanding the forces of the Petrograd Military District).

I was received by Kornilov, who said bluntly: 'I have assigned you an important and responsible position.' I asked him what it was. 'I will tell you to-morrow,' answered the General. I tried to find out from him why the choice had fallen on me, but the General answered: 'Mind your own business and get ready.' I saluted and left. The next day, March 19, I received no further orders, and no orders arrived on March 20. I began to think that my appointment had lapsed, when suddenly I was told on the telephone that Kornilov ordered me to be at Tsarskoe-Selo station at 8 a.m. on March 21. On my arrival at the station I met General Kornilov and his A.D.C.

When we were seated in our compartment, Kornilov turned to me and said: 'I will now enlighten you as to our destination. We are going to Tsarskoe-Selo. I am going thither to place the Empress under arrest. You are going to take over

the command of the Tsarskoe-Selo Garrison; Captain Kotsebue will be Commandant of the Palace, but you will supervise the Palace and Kotsebue will be subordinate to you.'

We arrived at the Palace. In one of the ante-rooms we were received by General Benckendorff, Grand Marshal of the Imperial Court, and Kornilov explained to him that he would like the Emperor's suite to assemble, and he begged Her Majesty to receive him. Benckendorff sent a footman to ask everybody to come down, and he went in person to ask the Empress to grant us an audience. When he returned he told us that the Empress would receive us in ten minutes, and shortly afterwards we were told by a footman that Her Majesty desired to see us. When Kornilov and I entered the children's room, there was nobody there, but a moment after the Empress entered from another door. We bowed. She extended her hand to Kornilov and nodded to me. Kornilov said to her: 'I have come to inform you of the decision of the Council of Ministers. From this moment you must consider yourself under arrest. If you are in need of anything, will you kindly apply to the new Commandant.' After saying this, Kornilov immediately turned to me: 'Colonel, leave us together and take up your position outside the door.' I retired. About five minutes later Kornilov called me, and when I entered the room the Empress held out her hand to me. We bowed to her and then we went downstairs. Some members of the Emperor's suite were already assembled in an ante-room, and Kornilov said briefly, 'Gentlemen, this is the new Commandant; from this time onwards the Empress is under arrest. If any of you wish to share the fate of the Imperial Family you are at liberty to stay with them, but make up your minds at once, as later I will not permit any one to enter the Palace.' At this time the guard was kept by His Majesty's Svodny Guard Regiment, commanded by Major-General Ressin, and at this very moment the Major-General said that

he wanted to leave. The Grand Marshal of the Imperial Court, Count Benckendorff and Count Apraksin, who was in charge of the Empress's personal affairs, decided that they would remain with the Empress.

The same day Kornilov confirmed his instructions regarding the status of the arrested persons and the restrictions to be imposed upon them. The guards of the Svodny Regiment were relieved by the First Rifle Regiment, and Kornilov then left Tsarskoe-Selo and I remained there as Commandant.

Before changing the guards Colonel Lazarev asked my permission to say good-bye to the Empress. I allowed him to do so, and Colonel Lazarev went in to see the Empress and wept bitterly. He also broke down when he saw the colours of the Svodny Regiment taken out of the ante-room. Some days later (I do not remember the date) I was notified by telephone of the arrival of the Emperor, and I went to the station. After the arrival of the train the Emperor left his compartment and walked very quickly through the station without bestowing a single glance upon anybody; he then took his seat in an automobile, accompanied by a Marshal of the Court, Count Vasily Alexandrovich Dolgoruky.

Two men in mufti now advanced; one of them was Vershinin, a member of the Duma. They told me that their mission was ended, and that from this time the Emperor was under my charge.

I cannot forget one circumstance in particular which I witnessed at that time. Quite a number of persons had travelled in the Emperor's train, but when the Emperor left the train these people crowded out of the station and quickly dispersed, throwing frightened looks in all directions. It appears that they were very much afraid of being recognized. I thought this behaviour was rather disgusting.

I accompanied the Emperor to the Palace, and he immediately went upstairs to see his children who were ill.

Shortly afterwards the Emperor's luggage was brought from the station.

The life of the Imperial Family during their stay in Tsarskoe-Selo was regulated by certain instructions. These instructions limited the relations of the Imperial Family with the outer world, and of course brought certain restrictions into their private life. The mail always passed through the hands of the Commandant of the Palace, and the outgoing mail was only allowed to leave the Palace through the park. The Palace and the park were always surrounded by sentinels, and walking in the park was only permitted from early morning until dusk.

These were the chief restrictions, and the Government by no means interfered with the private life of the Family. Except the above-mentioned limitations, the Government made no other restrictions.

During my first days in Tsarskoe-Selo all the children were ill with the measles; Maria Nikolaevna and, I think, Olga Nikolaevna had inflammation of the lungs. But they speedily recovered.

The day was usually spent in the following manner: The Family got up early, with the exception of the Empress, who usually stayed in bed a long time. At 8 a.m. the Emperor took a walk in the company of Dolgoruky. They walked for about an hour and a half, and took some sort of physical exercise. At one o'clock the Family had lunch. After lunch the Family used to work in the garden until three o'clock. The children then had their lessons. Tea was served at 4 p.m., and sometimes after tea the Family went out in the park. Dinner was served at seven o'clock.

During my stay in Tsarskoe-Selo, several incidents occurred to which I would like to draw your attention. A few days after the arrest of the Imperial Family, a disagreeable incident happened concerning the body of Rasputin. His corpse had

been taken to Tsarskoe-Selo where a church was being built, and his body was buried there. When the soldiers knew this they opened the grave, removed the cover of the coffin and examined the body. They found a Holy Image in the coffin which bore the signatures of 'Alexandra,' 'Olga,' 'Tatiana,' 'Maria,' 'Anastasia' and 'Ania.' This image was placed close to the right cheek of Rasputin. In some way this became known to the commandant of an anti-aircraft battery and he took the image away from the soldiers. I saw it myself. I think the image represented the Holy Virgin. I reported these facts by telephone to the district headquarters, and I was instructed to take the body of Rasputin to the station and to ship it to Sredniaya-Rogatka, where it was to be interred. I was told to do this in secret. But it was impossible for me to carry out this order without the soldiers and the population knowing what had transpired. Later, I was told to take the body to Tsarskoe-Selo station. This I did and had it put in a luggage van. I stationed some soldiers in another carriage, but I did not tell them what they had to guard.

The next day a Commissar by the name of Koupchinsky (who was also in charge of the automobiles) forwarded me a written order signed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The order stated that I was to transmit the body of Rasputin (the name was written as 'Novykh') to Koupchinsky, so that he might take it away on a lorry to its destination. We could not do this in Tsarskoe-Selo, so we shunted the luggage van containing the corpse to the station Pavlovsk Second. Here we found an old packing-case, into which we put the coffin containing Rasputin's body. The case was covered with mats and empty bags. Koupchinsky went with the body to Petrograd, but on the way the secret became known to the mob, who threatened to seize the corpse, so Koupchinsky was obliged to burn it *en route*.

Another incident in our peaceful life was the sudden arrival of a stranger. This stranger came to me, introduced himself as Maslovsky, and handed me a letter from the Executive Committee of the Soviet of the Workmen and Soldiers' Deputies. He wore the uniform of a Colonel. I do not remember his personal appearance. The letter was in the nature of a demand and ordered me to assist the bearer in the execution of his duty. I remember that the letter was signed by Chkheidze, a member of the Duma. It also bore an official seal. The man who called himself Maslovsky told me that he had been instructed by the Executive Committee to take the Emperor to the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, but I told Maslovsky that under no circumstances would I permit him to do so. 'Well, Colonel, the blood that will now be spilt will be on your own head,' answered Maslovsky. I said I could not help it, and he retired. I thought he had left for good, but it appears that he went to the Palace, where he was met by the commander of the First Regiment, Captain Aksiuta. Maslovsky showed him the letter and told him that he wanted to see the Emperor. After searching Maslovsky's pockets, Aksiuta let him see the Emperor in such a way that the Emperor would not be aware of his scrutiny. I reported this incident to Headquarters, by whom my actions were approved.

Kotsebue did not long occupy the position of Commandant of the Palace. He was dismissed on account of the following circumstance. Madame Vyrubova, a maid-of-honour to the Empress, and a lady by the name of Dehn who wore a Red Cross uniform, had chosen to remain with the Imperial Family at the time when Kornilov first came there.

The soldiers learned through the servants that Kotsebue often stayed quite a long time with Madame Vyrubova and spoke English to her. After I heard this rumour I verified it. The footman (I do not remember his name) who had first

told the soldiers, also told me Kotsebue was often in Madame Vyrubova's company. Fearing agitation amongst the men, I reported what I had heard to Kornilov, who sent for Kotsebue and forbade him to enter the Palace. I was then ordered to undertake the duties of the Commandant of the Palace.

I had not occupied my new position for more than a week when Paul Alexandrovich Korovichenko was appointed Commandant of the Palace. Korovichenko was a Colonel in one of the regiments stationed in Finland. He had graduated from the Military Academy of Law, after which he had been on active service. He had been called up for active service at the beginning of the war. He had also some private connexion with Kerensky, who at this period had succeeded Prince Lvov and had relinquished his own position of Minister of Justice to Pereverzev, with whom Korovichenko was also on very good terms.

Kerensky visited Tsarskoe-Selo several times. The first time he arrived when Korovichenko was there. I am unable to tell you anything about his behaviour to the Emperor, as I was never present at their conversations. I cannot tell you anything that Korovichenko said about it. So far as I can remember, Tegleva told me that Kerensky always behaved in a very courteous manner. Madame Vyrubova was arrested during one of Kerensky's visits.

This took place when I was present. Korovichenko and I entered Madame Vyrubova's room and Korovichenko told her that she was to be taken at once to Petrograd. She hastily dressed herself, and then asked our permission to say good-bye to the Empress. This was granted. We were present at their parting and watched what transpired from a distance. They both spoke in English and both wept bitterly. Madame Dehn was taken to Petrograd with Madame Vyrubova.

Korovichenko was once present at a conversation between Kerensky and the Emperor. Kerensky told the Emperor

that he had decided to confiscate his private papers and that he had asked Korovichenko to carry out his instructions. I was ordered to be present, and I distinctly remember the excessively unpleasant scene. The private papers belonging to the Emperor were kept in a special case. This case contained a large number of papers tied together in neat packets. Whilst showing us these, the Emperor took a letter from the case, saying: 'This letter is merely a private communication.' The Emperor by no means wanted to keep the letter from being confiscated; he simply picked it up as it was lying separately from the others, and I am sure that he intended to put it back in the case. But Korovichenko suddenly grabbed the letter, and for a moment it seemed as if the Emperor was pulling one side of the letter and Korovichenko was pulling at the other. The Emperor looked very angry. He let go his end of the letter, saying as he did so: 'Well, it appears that I am not wanted here; I had better go out and have a walk.'

Korovichenko took all the papers which he considered of interest, and sent them to Kerensky. Later, he told Kerensky and Pereverzev that he fully expected to find something to implicate the Emperor or the Empress, and stamp them as pro-Germans, especially as at the time this was suggested by nearly all the newspapers. Nothing was found that could possibly compromise either the Emperor or the Empress. At last he discovered a telegram that had been sent in code from the Emperor to the Empress. After some hard work in deciphering it they made out the simple sentence: 'Feeling well, kisses!'

The Imperial Family did not like Korovichenko, but I know that Korovichenko exerted every effort to please them, and that he obtained permission for them to work in the garden and to row on the lake. But those best disposed towards the Imperial Family were the soldiers and officers of the First Regiment.

Following an old custom the Officer of the Day on duty at the Palace used to be given a pint of wine at Easter. This custom was not altered, but when the soldiers heard about it they started some agitation, and it took fifty bottles of vodka to cool their temper!

Once the soldiers even accused Ensign Zeleny of having kissed the Empress's hand!

This last incident and the story about the wine caused a lot of trouble, and an investigation took place.

The morale of the soldiers grew worse and worse. They became quite intoxicated by their own peculiar rendering of the word freedom, and they began to invent all sorts of mad demands. The worst offenders were the Second Regiment, where not only the soldiers, but the officers behaved badly.

On one occasion an officer of the Second Regiment shouted: 'We must see the Family for ourselves. As they are under guard they must be seen.' It was obvious that only vulgar curiosity or a desire to inflict useless mental suffering prompted the officer to make such a demand. My efforts to oppose them were fruitless, and my argument that the Emperor and the Empress would never try to escape and leave their sick children, had no effect whatever. Fearing that they would accomplish their purpose without my authority, I reported this matter to General Polovtsev, who at that time occupied General Kornilov's position. It was, therefore, decided that when the new Officer of the Guard relieved the old, both were to be taken to the Emperor, when the Empress was also present. To avoid any unnecessary embarrassment we decided to do this just before lunch—the time when the Family were always together. It was arranged that the outgoing officer of the guard should then take leave of the Emperor, who, at the same time, would receive his successor. After this had been carried out, another very disagreeable incident took place. When the men of the First Regiment were being relieved by the men

of the Second, both captains went to see the Emperor. The Emperor wished the captain of the departing guard good-bye, and shook hands with him. When the Emperor stretched out his hand to the new captain of the guard, his hand remained outstretched, as the officer stepped backwards and didn't take it. Being disagreeably impressed by this behaviour, the Emperor went towards the officer, put both hands on his shoulders, and said with tears in his eyes: 'Why did you do that?' The officer once more drew back and answered: 'I was born of common people and when they stretched out their hand to you, you did not take it, so now I will not shake hands with you.' I relate this story exactly as I heard it from the officer of the First Regiment who witnessed this revolting incident.

As the Revolution proceeded the agitation grew deeper amongst the soldiers. Having no opportunities to find out anything wrong with the lives of the persons under arrest, they tried to discover new methods of inflicting suffering upon the Imperial Family. On one occasion they saw the Tsarevitch carrying a small rifle. This rifle was a model of the standard infantry rifle, and it had been presented to the Tsarevitch by some munition works. It was absolutely harmless, as special cartridges had to be used for it and none of the cartridges were now available.

The trouble was started by the soldiers of the Second Regiment, and all the efforts of the officer (I do not remember the name) to persuade the men that their anger was ridiculous were useless. In order to avoid violence he took the rifle away from the Tsarevitch, but when I came to the Palace Gillard and Tegleva told me the story, and added that the Tsarevitch was crying. I ordered the rifle to be given to me, and when I got it I took it apart, and in this way I smuggled it back to the Tsarevitch.

Finally the soldiers and the Soviet of Tsarskoe-Selo ceased to comply with any of my orders, and appointed Ensign Dom-

odziantz, an Armenian, to execute the duties of my assistant. He was a rough man, and he made the greatest efforts to get into the Palace, where I tried my best to prevent him from going. After this, he began to pass most of his time in the park, especially when the Family were walking there. Once the Emperor held out his hand to him, but he refused to shake hands with the Emperor, saying he had no right to do it as he was an assistant commandant.

After this incident was told Kerensky, he came to the Palace at Tsarskoe-Selo and sent for the chairman of the Local Soviet (he did not actually come about this incident, but on some other business). The chairman of the Soviet said to Kerensky: 'I want to let you know at once, Minister, that we have elected Ensign Domodziantz to be assistant commandant of the Palace.' Kerensky answered: 'Yes, I know, but why was it so necessary to elect him. Couldn't you have elected somebody else?' However, no changes were made, as Kerensky himself had no power.

It was Domodziantz who told the soldiers not to answer the Emperor's greeting. The soldiers followed his advice, and they were, of course, soldiers of the Second Regiment. I had to ask the Emperor not to speak to the men, as I was losing all control over them, so the Emperor refrained from any further attempts at conversation.

I must in fairness state that it was not only the soldiers who were hostile towards the Imperial Family.

People began to get frightened to show any kindly feelings towards the Imperial Family. The Grand Duchess Olga was very friendly with a young lady named Margaret Hitrovo, who often came to me and asked me to deliver letters to Olga Nikolaevna. She always used to sign her letters 'Margaret Hitrovo.' In the same way, all the letters which were brought me by Olga Kolzakova bore her full signature. But there were some letters which were signed merely 'Lily' (Dehn) or

'Titi' (Velichkovskaia). I said to Miss Hitrovo: 'You always sign your letters with your full name, and so does Olga Kolzakova, but there are others who hide their names. This is not fair. Supposing the mail should be examined by somebody else, and I am asked who are the writers of those letters? My position will then be extremely embarrassing. Please inform the writers of these letters that I want them to call on me. I must know who they are.' After that I ceased receiving letters from 'Lily' or 'Titi.'

Shortly after the arrest, Count Apraksin asked permission to resign, as his duties in the Palace were over, and his family resided in Petrograd. By order of the Minister of Justice (the order was given to me through Kornilov) he was allowed to leave the Palace.

I have now related everything that I remember about the life of the Imperial Family in Tsarskoe-Selo.

I can only add that the Imperial Family received all the newspapers that appeared as well as the English and French magazines. Out of the Russian newspapers, I can name: *Russkoe-Slovo*, *Russkaia-Volia*, *Rech*, *Novoe-Vremia*, *Petrogradsky Listok*, and *Petrogradskaia-Gazeta*.

I will now tell you why the Imperial Family was removed to Tobolsk. Their removal was preceded by the following events. About a week before their departure, Kerensky arrived at Tsarskoe-Selo. He sent for me as well as for the chairman of the Soviet and the chairman of the Military Section of the Tsarskoe-Selo Garrison, Ensign Efimov, who was an officer of the Second Regiment. Kerensky said to us: 'Before speaking to you I must ask you to give me your word that everything I say will be kept secret by you.' We gave our word to Kerensky. He then told us that according to the resolution of the Council of Ministers, the Imperial Family were to be taken away from Tsarskoe-Selo, but that the Government did not want this to be kept a secret from the 'Democratic Organiza-

tions.' He also said that I was to accompany the Imperial Family. After this I retired, but Kerensky continued his conversation with the chairman of the Soviet and Efimov. In about an hour's time I met Kerensky and asked him where we were going, adding that I must give notice to the Family so that they could prepare themselves for the journey. Kerensky replied that he would do this himself, and he proceeded to the Palace, where he had a personal interview with the Emperor, but he did not give me any answer as to when and where we were going.

I saw Kerensky about two or three times afterwards, and I always asked him where we were going and what things were to be taken by the Imperial Family. Kerensky did not answer my questions, but only replied, 'Tell them that they must take plenty of warm things.'

About two days before our departure Kerensky sent for me, and ordered me to form a detachment of men out of the First, Second and Fourth Regiments for guard duty, and also to appoint officers to the companies. The word 'appointment' at this time had quite a special meaning. The agitation in the army was so great that we could not make appointments. The commander of a regiment had no influence whatever—his power was in the hands of the soldiers' committee.

Being afraid that amongst the officers selected there would be some undesirable persons, I asked Kerensky's permission to make my own choice of five officers for each company, out of which two, according to the military regulations, could be selected by the men. Kerensky agreed to this.

The evening of the same day I sent for the commander of the regiment and the chairman of the regimental committee. I said to them: 'A very secret and important mission is about to take place. I want each commander of a regiment to choose a company of ninety-six men and two officers.' At the same time I gave them a list of officers that I named, from

which the selection could be made. In answer to my words the commanders of the regiments and the chairmen of the committees of the First and Fourth Regiments merely replied: 'Very well, sir.' But the chairman of the committee of the Second Regiment, a soldier (whose name I don't remember), cried: 'We have made our choice. We know what sort of mission this is.' 'How can you possibly know when I don't know anything about it myself?' I asked him. 'Certain people have told us all about it and we have elected Ensign Dekonsky,' he answered.

This ensign had been previously dismissed from the Fourth Regiment by its own officers and men, but he had been taken into the Second Regiment, and I know that at this time Ensign Dekonsky was undoubtedly a Bolshevik. When I heard about his election I told the chairman of the committee that Dekonsky should not go with us. The chairman said rudely: 'Yes, he shall. I went to Kerensky and told him that if Dekonsky went to the mission I should refuse to go, and I also said that as Kerensky was Minister of War he could easily arrange matters. Kerensky came to Tsarskoe-Selo and sent for the chairman of the committee, and some desperate arguments ensued. Kerensky insisted on his demand, but the chairman kept on repeating: 'Dekonsky shall go.' Finally Kerensky got excited and said in a very loud voice: 'These are my orders.' The chairman said nothing and departed. But when the soldiers learned that Dekonsky was not going, they refused to go with the detachment, and in consequence the company of the Second Regiment was composed of the very worst elements.

On July 29 (August 11) I called on Kerensky and met the Assistant Commissar of the Ministry of the Court, Paul Mikaelovich Makarov, an engineer by profession. From their conversation I understood for the first time that the Imperial Family were to be transferred to Tobolsk. The same day Makarov

ordered Engineer Ertel, who used formerly to accompany the Dowager Empress on her pleasure trips, to prepare a special train for 2 a.m. on August 1 (14).

On July 30 (August 12), the Imperial Family asked me to bring the Znamensky Holy Image of the Virgin from the Znamensky Church to the Palace as they wanted to hold divine service on the birthday of Alexis Nikolaevich. I remember that on this day as well as on the following one I had an enormous amount of trouble on account of the state of mind of the soldiers, and I personally had to fulfil all the requests of the Imperial Family. After the question of the Holy Image was settled I was visited by the commander of the District Forces (at that time Ensign Kuzmin), a colonel and another man in mufti. The latter extended his hand to me and said: 'May I introduce myself, I was in prison in the Kresty?' To this day I still remember his filthy hand.

Kuzmin and the colonel hid themselves in a room with a door leading into the corridor, and waited there for a full hour for the end of the service, on purpose to watch the Imperial Family returning from church. That evening after the departure of Kuzmin and his gang, Makarov and Ilia Leonidovich Tatishchev came to see me. Tatishchev told me that the Emperor had asked him through Kerensky and Makarov to share the fate of the Family. He said: 'I was rather surprised, as I am not a member of the Court, but if it is the Emperor's wish, I will not hesitate.' The Emperor asked Tatishchev to go instead of Benckendorff, as it was obvious that the latter could not. He was very old and his wife was very old and very ill. Benckendorff had married the Princess Dolgoruky, the mother of Vasily Alexandrovich Dolgoruky, so it happened that the stepson had to take the stepfather's place. For a similar reason Madame Naryshkina, the lady-in-waiting to the Empress, could not go with the Imperial Family as she was extremely old and had inflammation of the lungs

The same day Margaret Hitrovo called on me and made a terrible scene, accusing me of concealing the fate of the Imperial Family from her and stating that she had heard that they were to be imprisoned in a fortress.

In the evening Kerensky telephoned that he would come to Tsarskoe-Selo at midnight on August 1 (14) to say a few words to the detachment of soldiers before its departure.

I spent the greater part of July 31 (August 13) in making preparations for my departure. So far as I remember nothing important occurred. Kerensky arrived at midnight. The detachment was ready, and we went to inspect the First Battalion. Kerensky said a few words to the soldiers, the substance of which was: 'You kept guard over the Imperial Family in Tsarskoe-Selo, and you are to do the same in Tobolsk, where the Imperial Family are to be removed according to the resolution of the Council of Ministers. Remember, don't strike a man when he is down. Don't behave yourselves like ruffians. You will receive the same allowance as in the Petrograd district, besides tobacco and soap, you will also receive a daily allowance.'

Kerensky repeated these words to the Fourth Battalion, but he did not visit the Second Battalion. I must draw your attention to the fact that the soldiers of the First and Fourth Regiments were quite different from the soldiers of the Second Regiment. The men of the former dressed smartly and had a large stock of clothes, but the soldiers of the Second Regiment were men of low morale, they were dirty in their habits and they had a much smaller supply of clothes. This difference led to very important results. After Kerensky had said farewell to the soldiers, he said to me: 'Now go and fetch Michael Alexandrovich. He is at present with the Grand Duke Boris Vladimirovich.' I went, therefore, to the house of the Grand Duke, where I found Boris Vladimirovich, a lady, and Michael Alexandrovich, with his wife, and Mr. Johnson, an English

secretary. The three of us, Michael Alexandrovich, Mr. Johnson and myself, proceeded to the Alexandrovsky Palace. Mr. Johnson remained in the motor-car, and Michael Alexandrovich went to the ante-room where Kerensky and the officer of the day awaited his arrival. All three then went to see the Emperor. I remained in the ante-room. Suddenly Alexis Nikolaevich ran towards me and asked : ' Is that Uncle Mimi who has just come ? ' I answered that it was, and Alexis Nikolaevich asked my permission to hide himself behind the door. ' I want to see him when he goes out,' said the Tsarevitch. So he hid behind the door and looked through the crack of it at Michael Alexandrovich, laughing like a child at his ingenuity. Michael Alexandrovich talked to the Emperor for about ten minutes and then took leave of him.

The Imperial Family left for the station at five o'clock in the morning. Two trains were in readiness. The Imperial Family, the people with them, their servants and a company of the First Regiment went by the first train ; the remainder of the soldiers and servants took the second train. The luggage was distributed in both trains. In the first train were Vershinin, a member of the Duma, Makarov, the engineer, and the chairman of the Military Secti Ensign Efimov, who had been sent by Kerensky's wish to report to the Soviet the arrival of the Imperial Family at Tobolsk. The places in the train were arranged in the following manner : The Emperor occupied the first comfortable car (of the International Co. of Sleeping Cars), the Empress was in another, the Grand Duchesses were in the third, Alexis Nikolaevich and Nagorny were in the fourth. Demidova, Tegleva and Erzberg in the fifth, and Chemodurov and Volkov occupied the sixth compartment. In another carriage were Tatishchev and Dolgoruky ; Dr. Botkin was in a small compartment, Schneider and her maids Katia and Masha were together, and Gillard was in another compartment with Hendrykova, her maid, and Mejanz

In the third car were Vershinin, Makarov, myself, my A.D.C. Lieutenant Nicholas Alexandrovich Moundel, the commander of the First Company, Ensign Ivan Trofimovich Zima, Ensign Vladimir Alexandrovich (I am not quite sure of his name), and Mesiankin, but Ensign Efimov was alone in a small compartment, as nobody seemed inclined to travel in his company. The fourth car contained a dining saloon in which the Imperial Family used to have their meals, except the Empress and Alexis Nikolaevich, who took their meals alone in the Empress's compartment. The soldiers occupied three third-class cars. Several luggage vans were attached to the train.

Nothing particular happened until we arrived at Perm, but just before our arrival the train was stopped, and a big white-bearded man who looked like a minor railway official boarded my compartment. He introduced himself as the chairman of the Railroad Workmen and said that the 'Tovarishch' (Comrades) wanted to know who was in the train and would not allow the train to proceed until their curiosity was gratified. Vershinin and Makarov showed him the official papers with Kerensky's signature. The train then continued its journey. We arrived at Tiumen on the evening of August 4 or 5 (old style, i.e., August 17 or 18), and the same day we went on board two river steamers. The Imperial Family, the persons with them, and the company of the First Regiment took their places on the steamer *Russ*. Some of the servants and the company of the Second and Fourth Regiments embarked on the steamer *Kormilets*. The vessels were comfortable, but the *Kormilets* was inferior to the *Russ*. We arrived at Tobolsk, so far as I can remember, on the evening of August 6 (August 19) about 5 or 6 p.m. The house selected as the residence of the Imperial Family was not yet ready, so we spent a few days on the boats.

When we travelled by train the train did not stop at the large stations, but only at the intermediate ones. The Emperor

and the other passengers frequently left the train and proceeded ahead, and the train moved slowly after them. When we were on board the steamer we sometimes came alongside the bank at a distance of about ten versts from the town in order that the Family might have a walk.

During the time the Family lived on the steamers Makarov was putting the house in order. Tatishchev, Hendrykova, Schneider, Tutelberg, Erzberg, Tegleva and Demidova arranged the furniture. When the house was ready the Family proceeded thither, for which purpose a smart-looking carriage was assigned the Empress. She went in this with Tatiana Nikolaevna. All the others walked.

Two houses were assigned as the residence of the Imperial Family, their suite and their servants. One was the Governor's house, the other was opposite and belonged to M. Kornilov.

None of the furniture was removed from Tsarskoe-Selo, so that the furniture of the Governor's house was used, but some new things were ordered and bought in Tobolsk.

The only things which were taken from Tsarskoe-Selo for the Imperial Family were some camp beds, but later a number of things were sent on after the necessity for them was discovered by Makarov.

The arrangement of the rooms was as follows: The first floor led to the hall, and from this a corridor divided the house into two parts; the first room on the right-hand side was occupied by the officer of the day. Next to it was the room occupied by Demidova, and in this room she, Tegleva, Tuelberg and Erzberg had their meals. The next room was occupied by Gillard, who gave lessons to Alexis Nikolaevich, Maria Nikolaevna and Anastasia Nikolaevna. The dining-room used by the Imperial Family was next to this. On the left side of the corridor opposite to the room of the officer of the day was a room occupied by Chemodurov. Then came the pantry, and next to the pantry was a room occupied by Tegleva and Erzberg,

and lastly came a room occupied by Tutelberg. The staircase above Chemodurov's room led to the upper storey and the 'work-room' of the Emperor, next to the 'work-room' was the hall; there was also another staircase leading from the hall to the lobby. The first room on the right was the drawing-room, next it was the Emperor and Empress's bedroom, next to their bedroom was that of the Grand Duchesses. Opposite the drawing-room was the room occupied by Alexis Nikolaevich, next to it was the lavatory, and the bathroom was next the lavatory.

The members of the suite lived in Kornilov's house.

The following persons arrived at Tobolsk with the Imperial Family: (1) Ilia Leonidovich Tatishchev, general A.D.C. to the Emperor; (2) Prince Alexander Vasilievich Dolgoruky; (3) Eugene Sergeievich Botkin, physician; (4) Countess Anastasia Vasilievna Hendrykova, personal maid-of-honour to the Empress; (5) Baroness Sophie Karlovna Buxhoevden, personal maid-of-honour to the Empress; (6) Katherine Adolfovna Schneider, Court reader; (7) Pierre Andreievich Gillard; (8) Alexandra Alexandrovna Tegleva, nurse; (9) Elizabeth Nikolaevna Erzberg, maid to the Grand Duchesses; (10) Maria Gustavovna Tutelberg, maid to the Empress; (11) Anna Stephanovna Demidova, another maid to the Empress; (12) Victorina Vladimirovna Nikolaeva, an adopted child of Hendrykova's; (13) Pauline Megans, Hendrykova's maid; (14) Tania and Masha (I do not know their surnames), Miss Schneider's maids; (15) Terenty Ivanovich Chemodurov, the Emperor's valet; (16) Stephan Makarov, assistant valet to Chemodurov; (17) Alexis Andreievich Volkov, an attendant; (18) Ivan Dmitrievich Sedneff, another attendant on the Grand Duchesses; (19) Michael Karpov, the Grand Duchesses' footman; (20) Klementy Gregorievich Nagorny, the Tsarevitch's servant; (21) Sergius Ivanov, Gillard's manservant; (22) Tiutin, manservant to Tatishchev and Dolgoruky; (23) Francis Zhuravsky, a waiter; (24) Alexis Trupp, footman;

(25) Gregory Soloduhin, a footman; (26) Dormidontov, a footman; (27) Kisselev, a footman; (28) Ermolay Gusev, a footman; (29) Ivan Michailovich Haritonov, a cook; (30) Kokicheff, a cook; (31) Ivan Vereshchagin, a cook; (32) Leonid Sedneff, an assistant cook; (33) Sergius Mikhailov, an assistant cook; (34) Francis Turkovsky, an assistant cook; (35) Terchin, an assistant cook; (36) Alexander Kirpitchnikov, a clerk who performed the duties of janitor in Tobolsk; (37) Alexis Nikolaevich Dimitriev, a barber; (38) Rozhkoff, in charge of the wine cellars, and after our arrival in Tobolsk we were joined by (39) Vladimir Nikolaevich Derevanko, physician, and (40) Mr. Sidney Ivanovitch Gibbes.

Our life in Tobolsk went on peacefully. The restrictions were the same as in Tsarskoe-Selo, but everybody felt much happier.

The officer of the day remained in his own room, and nobody interfered with the private life of the Imperial Family. They all rose early, except the Empress. In the morning after breakfast the Emperor took a walk and went in for some sort of physical exercise. The children also had a walk. Everybody did what he pleased. In the morning the Emperor used to read and write up his diary, the children had their lessons. The Empress read, embroidered or painted. Lunch was served at eleven o'clock. After lunch the Family usually had a walk. The Emperor frequently used to saw logs with Dolgoruky, Tatishchev and Gillard, and sometimes the Grand Duchesses took part in this. Tea was served at four o'clock, and everybody stood at the window and watched the life of the town. Dinner was at six, and after dinner, Tatishchev, Dolgoruky, Botkin and Derevenko joined us and sometimes we played cards. The only card players in the Family were the Emperor and the Grand Duchess Olga. The Emperor occasionally used to read aloud. Sometimes French or English plays were staged. Tea was served at eight o'clock, and conversation

became general until eleven, but never later. After eleven o'clock everybody retired for the night; the Tsarevitch went to bed at nine or thereabouts.

The Empress always dined upstairs, and sometimes the Tsarevitch dined with her; the rest of the Family dined in the dining-room.

The members of the suite and the servants were allowed to go out of the house whenever they wanted, as they were under no restrictions. The movements of the Imperial Family were, of course, restricted in the same way as in Tsarskoe-Selo, and they were only allowed to go to church. Divine service was conducted in the following manner: Late services took place in the house, and were performed by the clergy of Blagoveschensky Church. The Priest, Father Vasiliev, officiated. The Imperial Family only went outside to church for the early services; in order to attend these they had to go through the garden and across the street, but sentries were stationed all the way to the church, and strangers were not admitted. So far as I can judge the Government tried to maintain the conditions of life compatible with the position of the Imperial Family. When we left Tsarskoe-Selo Kerensky said most emphatically: 'Don't forget that your charge is a former Emperor, and he and his Family must want for nothing.' The guard of the house was under my control, and after the Family arrived at Tobolsk I think they got used to me and so far as I understand they bore me no ill-will. I can state this with perfect truth, as before their departure the Empress received me and gave me a Holy Picture with which she blessed me.

This peaceful life did not continue, and I can trace some resemblance between the first periods of life in Tsarskoe-Selo and Tobolsk. The relatively easy conditions of life in Tsarskoe-Selo had gradually disappeared. At that time the Government was gradually losing all the ground from under its feet, and the

agitation increased amongst the soldiers, whose dissatisfaction became worse and worse. Finally, faced with the necessity of fighting for power, and at the same time not wishing to injure the Family, the Kerensky Government made up its mind to transfer them from the centre of the political struggle to some quiet spot. This turned out to be absolutely the right course. The population of Tobolsk was well disposed towards the Imperial Family, as when we arrived at Tobolsk, all the inhabitants came on to the piers, and when the Family proceeded towards the Governor's house it was apparent that the population was well disposed towards them. But now most people were afraid to show their sympathies, although they showed their respect in secret. Many gifts were made to the Imperial Family, mostly of food and sweets, but they received very little, as the greater portion was eaten by the servants.

The general agitation now spread to Tobolsk, as special attention was now given this town by all kinds of politicians, simply because it happened to be the residence of the Imperial Family.

I only commanded my men until September. In September a commissar of the Government by the name of Vasily Semenovich Pankratov came to Tobolsk. This man brought a letter signed by Kerensky which stated that from now onward I was to be subordinate to Pankratov and obey all his orders.

At the age of eighteen, Pankratov had killed a gendarme in Kiev whilst defending a woman. For this he was court-martialled and imprisoned in the Fortress of Schlüsselburg, where he remained in solitary confinement for fifteen years, after which he was exiled to the Yakut District, where he lived for twenty-seven years.

His assistant was Ensign Alexander Vladimirovich Nikolsky, who had also been exiled to the Yakut for being a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. During this time he became friendly with Pankratov, and when Pankratov was

appointed commissar to the Imperial Family he asked Nikolsky to be his assistant.

Pankratov was a clever man with a well-developed mind, and an extraordinarily mild disposition. Nikolsky was rough. He had graduated from an ecclesiastical seminary and had hardly any manners, he was as obstinate as a bull, and the moment he made up his mind about anything, he swept all obstacles from his path. After their arrival and when they had seen how things were progressing, Nikolsky expressed his surprise at the casual way in which the servants and the suite came and went. 'This can't go on,' he said. 'Why, they could easily let in an outsider. Photos must be taken at once of everybody.' I tried to persuade him not to do this, as the sentries knew everybody well by sight. Nikolsky answered bitterly: 'Yes, we were once ordered by the police to have our photographs taken full face and profile, and so now *their* pictures shall be taken.' He went at once to the photographer, and photographs were taken of a number of people and suitable inscriptions were placed on each photo. Alexis Nikolaevich, who was a very mischievous boy, peeped through the fence and watched the proceedings, but when Nikolsky heard this he made a huge fuss about it. He reprimanded the soldier on duty and spoke very sharply to the Tsarevitch. The boy was offended, and complained that Nikolsky had shouted at him. The same day I asked Pankratov to try to moderate Nikolsky's zeal.

As I stated before, Pankratov did not want to harm the Imperial Family, but it turned out that he and Nikolsky were largely responsible for a great deal of trouble. Not understanding the realities of life, and being genuine members of the S.R. Party, they insisted upon everybody joining their Party, and they began to convert the soldiers to their own beliefs. They started a school where they taught soldiers literature and all sorts of useful knowledge, but after every

lesson they discussed politics with their pupils, and told them the programme of the S.R. Party. The soldiers listened, and the result of these lectures was that the soldiers were converted to Bolshevism. Pankratov and Nikolsky also wanted to print a newspaper under the title of *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Freedom).

A man by the name of Pisarevsky lived in Tobolsk at this time. He was a furious democrat and an enemy to the S.R.'s, and he therefore started a campaign against Pankratov and Nikolsky. Pisarevsky published a newspaper called *Rabochaia-Gazeta* (The Workmen's Newspaper), and seeing that Pankratov had a certain influence amongst the soldiers, Pisarevsky began to demoralize them. Shortly after the arrival of Pankratov and Nikolsky, our detachment was divided into two groups: the Pankratov Party and the Pisarevsky Party, or in other words, the Bolshevists. The Bolshevist Party was composed of the soldiers of the Second Regiment, who were poor creatures with a very low standard of morality. A small number of men formed a third group, or I should say, a neutral group, and most of its members were soldiers who were mobilized in 1906 and 1907.

These political campaigns resulted in the complete demoralization of the soldiers, who began to act like hooligans. Formerly they did not appear to wish to make things unpleasant for the Imperial Family. But now they did not seem to know what next to demand for themselves, and as they studied their own interests, the result was that either a member of the Imperial Family or some of the suite had to suffer. At first the soldiers under the influence of the political struggle came to me and complained: 'We have to sleep in bunks, our food is bad, but "Nikolashka" (a slang name for the Emperor popular during the Revolution) who is under arrest has so much food that his cooks throw it into the pig pails.' At this time life in Tobolsk was not expensive. But Kerensky

had not fulfilled his promise, and although we received Omsk allowance and not those of the Petrograd District, the allowances were still large enough to obtain very good food for the men. For the purpose of avoiding further friction with the soldiers it became necessary to take up the question of money matters with Pignatti, the District Commissar, and increase the allowance to one thousand roubles, substituting the soldiers' former good plain food with that which was unnecessary and luxurious.

As I have said before, Kerensky had promised the soldiers some pay in addition to their previous daily allowance. The month of November came, but no additional money was forwarded to us. The soldiers began to grumble : ' They promise everything and do nothing.' ' We will help ourselves to our daily pay. We shall demolish the shops and so obtain our daily pay in this manner.' Once again I visited Pignatti and borrowed fifteen thousand roubles from him. In this way I distributed to the soldiers, daily pay to the amount of fifty kopeks, and so shut their mouths for a time. But the soldiers decided to send delegates to Moscow and Petrograd to settle the question of the daily pay, and they chose Matveiev and Lupin as their representatives. After some time they returned (Matveiev returned as an officer), and told the men that the money would be forwarded from Moscow. Again I had to go to Pignatti and beg once more for fifteen thousand roubles, as the soldiers did not now believe in promises, and being beyond my control, they could create any amount of trouble.

When some of the soldiers learned from the newspapers that the men called to the colours in 1906-1907 had been demobilized, they demanded their own demobilization also. But I had most of the soldiers who were not to be demobilized on my side, and they were easily persuaded to stay.

Then came the Bolshevist Revolution, that wild movement

which spread throughout Russia and caused us so many sufferings!

The following unpleasant incident took place about this time. Father Vasiliev, the priest who performed divine service, was not a tactful man. Although he was very well disposed towards the Imperial Family, he rendered them very poor service by his subsequent behaviour. On October 24—November 6—(before the Bolshevist Revolution), the day of the anniversary of the accession of the Emperor to the Throne, the Imperial Family received Holy Communion, and the day before, after the evening service, the Imperial Family made their confessions. Nobody took any particular notice of divine service on this day, but Father Vasiliev most foolishly ordered the church bells to ring continuously from the time the Imperial Family left the church until they entered the Governor's house!

On Christmas Day, the Imperial Family were present in church during the early service, and after the service the customary Thanksgiving prayer was read. On account of the intense cold, I usually relieved the sentries before the end of the service, and I only left a small number on duty by the church. Sometimes some of the remaining soldiers entered the church; the older ones came to pray, but the majority came to warm themselves. The total number of soldiers in the church at any one time was generally very small. But on this particular day I noticed that more soldiers than usual were present, and I thought that the reason for this was that Christmas Day was considered a holiday. When the thanksgiving service was coming to an end I left the church and ordered a soldier to call the guard. I did not re-enter the church and I did not hear the end of the service. But after the Imperial Family had left the church, Pankratov said to me: 'Do you know what the priest has done? He has read the prayer for the prolongation of the life of the Emperor,

the Empress and the whole Family, mentioning their names in the prayer, and directly the soldiers heard it they began to murmur.' Father Vasiliev's useless loyalty resulted in a great disturbance, as the soldiers started a riot and made up their minds to kill, or at least to arrest the officiating clergy. It was most difficult to persuade them not to take any aggressive steps and await the decision of an investigating committee. Bishop Hermogen immediately transferred Father Vasiliev to the Abalaksky Monastery, as the situation was so strained, and I went to see the Bishop personally and ask him to appoint another clergyman. After this Father Hlynov officiated at the services for the Imperial Family.

The result of this fresh trouble was that the soldiers lost all faith in my word and kept on saying: 'When the service takes place in the house, most probably there is a prayer for the prolongation of the life of the Imperial Family.' So the men decided not to allow the Imperial Family to go to church, and only allowed them to pray in the presence of a soldier. The sole concession I was able to obtain was permission for the Imperial Family to visit church on the *Dvounadesiatye Drazdniky* (important Holy Days in the Orthodox Church). I was forced to submit to the men's decision that a soldier should be present at divine service in the Governor's house. In this way the tactless behaviour of Father Vasiliev resulted in the soldiers being permitted to enter the Governor's house, which prior to this time they had not been allowed to do. Another incident happened a little later. A soldier by the name of Rybakov, who was present at divine service, heard the clergyman mention the name of Tsaritsa Alexandra (a Saint): a new grievance instantly arose and I had to send for Rybakov, find a calendar, and explain to him that Tsaritsa Alexandra did not mean the *Empress* Alexandra, but was only the name of a Saint, known as Tsaritsa Alexandra.

When the demobilization of the army occurred, my rifle-men

began to take their discharges. To replace the old soldiers who were leaving, some young ones were sent from the reserves of Tsarskoe-Selo. And these soldiers, having been in the midst of the political struggle, were now vicious and corrupt.

The Pisarevsky group increased in number and strength by these new Bolsheviks. Finally, Pankratov (thanks to Pisarevsky's propaganda) was declared to be ' counter-revolutionary ' and he was dismissed by the soldiers. He left Tobolsk, and Nikolsky went with him.

The soldiers now sent a telegram requesting the presence of a Bolshevik Commissar in Tobolsk, but for some reason the Commissar did not arrive.

Not knowing what other objections they could make, the soldiers decided to forbid members of the suite to leave the house. I tried to explain how ridiculous this was, and so the men changed their minds and decided to let members of the suite go out accompanied by a sentry. Finally they got tired of this and allowed everybody to go out twice a week, but not for longer than two hours.

On one occasion, as he wished to say good-bye to a large number of departing soldiers, the Emperor and the Empress ascended a small hill which had been made out of the frozen snow for the amusement of the children. The soldiers who remained were very angry at this and levelled the little hill to the ground, saying that somebody might easily shoot at the Imperial Family when they were on the top of the hill, and that if this happened they would be held responsible.

One day the Emperor dressed himself in a ' cherkeska ' (the Caucasian tribal dress) and put a dagger in his belt. A commotion instantly arose amongst the soldiers, who cried : ' They must be searched, they carry weapons.' I made every effort to persuade the men not to insist upon this search. I went to the Emperor and explained the situation and asked him to give me the dagger (later it was taken by Rodionov).

Dolgoruky and Gillard both handed me their swords, and those were hung up on the wall of my office.

I have quoted Kerensky's words to me before our departure from Tsarskoe-Selo. The Imperial Family at first was not in need of anything in Tobolsk, but presently our money vanished and no more arrived. We began to live on credit. I wrote to Lieutenant-General Anichkoff, who was charged with the Intendancy of the Court, but with no result. Finally, Haritonov, the cook, began to say that he was not trusted in the shops, and it looked as if our credit was exhausted. I went to see the Director of the Tobolsk Branch of the National Bank, who advised me to discuss the question with a merchant, Mr. X——, who was a monarchist, and who had money in the bank. By virtue of a letter of exchange endorsed by Tatishchev, Dolgoruky and myself, the merchant advanced me twenty thousand roubles. Of course I asked Tatishchev and Dolgoruky to keep silent about this loan and by no means to mention it to the Emperor or to any of the Imperial Family. But these contretemps tried me greatly. This was hell and not life. My nerves were strained to the limit of endurance. It was very hard for me to beg money for the maintenance of the Imperial Family, so that when one day the soldiers made a new resolution that all officers must remove their shoulder-straps, I felt I could bear no more. I knew that I had absolutely lost all control of the men, and I fully realized my impotence! So I went to the Governor's house and asked Tegleva to tell the Emperor that I begged him to receive me. The Emperor at once received me in Tegleva's room, and I said to him: 'Your Majesty, all authority is fast slipping out of my hands. The men have removed our shoulder-straps! I cannot be useful to you any more, so I wish to resign, if you do not object. My nerves are strained. I am exhausted.' The Emperor put his arm on my shoulder, his eyes filled with tears. He replied: 'I implore you to remain. Evgeni Stepanovich,

remain for my sake, for the sake of my wife and for the sake of my children. You must stand by us. You see how all of us are suffering.'

Then he embraced me and we kissed each other, and I resolved to remain.

It then happened that Dorofeiev, a soldier of the Fourth Regiment (the appearance of the detachment had completely changed), came to me and said that at a meeting of the Soldiers' Committee it had been decided that the Emperor must remove his shoulder-straps, and his orders were to go with me and remove them. I tried to persuade Dorofeiev not to do this. He behaved most aggressively, called the Emperor 'Nikolashka' and was extremely angry during the conversation. I pointed out that it would be very embarrassing if the Emperor were to refuse. The soldier answered: 'If he refuses I will tear them off.' I then said: 'But suppose he strikes you?' Dorofeiev replied: 'Then I will strike him also.' What more could I do? I started again to try and persuade him, saying that things were not always as easy as they seemed, and I told him that the Emperor was a cousin of the King of England, and that very serious complications might follow. I advised the soldiers to ask instructions from Moscow, and as I had them on that point they went away and wired to Moscow. I then went to see Tatishchev and asked him to beg the Emperor to refrain from wearing shoulder-straps in the presence of the soldiers. After that the Emperor wore a black sheepskin overcoat with no shoulder-straps.

Swings had been made for the children, as the Grand Duchesses liked to swing, but the soldiers of the Second Regiment who were on sentry duty, carved most indecent words on the seats of the swings. After the Emperor had seen this the seats were removed. This was done when Sergeant Shikunov was the captain of the Guard. He was a Bolshevik.

I do not remember exactly which day I received a telegram

from Karelin, the Commissar in charge of the former ministry of the Imperial Court. The telegram stated that the nation could no longer maintain the Tsar's family and that they must support themselves, but the Soviets would give them a soldier's ration, quarters and heat.

This was the greatest trial which the Bolsheviks inflicted on the Imperial Family. The telegram also said that the Family must not spend more than six hundred roubles monthly per person. After this order, the quality of the food served to the Family deteriorated. It also affected the suite. The Imperial Family could no longer maintain the persons belonging to their suite, so those who had no private means were obliged to leave. A number of servants were discharged: (1) The waiter Gregorii Ivanov Solodukhin; (2) waiter Ermolai Gusev; (3) Dormidontov, waiter; (4) Kiselev, waiter; (5) Vereshchagin, cook; (6) Semen Mikhailov, cook's assistant; (7) Frantz Purkovsky; (8) Stepan Makarov, Chemodurov's assistant; (9) Stupel, the valet (I forgot to mention his name before), and some others.

As the minds of the soldiers were still occupied with the question of their daily pay, they sent a man named Lupin, a Bolshevik, to Moscow. When Lupin returned, he described the situation in Moscow in rosy hues, and brought the soldiers most encouraging news. He said that instead of the fifty kopeks per day which they had received at the time of the Provincial Government, they were now to get three roubles per day. This news made Bolsheviks of all the soldiers. They said: 'This shows what good fellows the Commissars are! The Provisional Government promised us fifty kopeks per day, but did not pay it. The Commissars will give us three roubles a day,' and they told this joyful news to one another.

Lupin brought back an order to arrest Tatishchev, Dolgoruky, Benckendorff, and Schneider. He also brought the news that our detachment was soon to be relieved, and that a new Com-

missar would arrive with a new detachment. I think the soldiers dreaded the arrival of the new Commissar. They now decided to transfer all persons belonging to the suite to the Governor's house, and put them under guard. All were therefore removed to the Governor's house except Gibbes, the Englishman, who did not care to live with anybody else, and so he was allowed a room outside.

New partitions were put up in the entrance room adjoining Chemodurov's room, thereby providing room for Demidova, Tegleva and Erzberg. Demidova's room was divided by a curtain, and Tatishchev and Dolgoruky shared the other half. In the room which Erzberg and Tegleva had previously occupied, Schneider and two of her maids were now placed. Tutelberg's room was given to Hendrykova and Nikolaevna, and Tutelberg was placed in a room under the main staircase behind the partition. In this way we were able to avoid intruding upon the privacy of the Imperial Family.

Mr. Gibbes settled in a small house near the kitchen, and every one, including the servants, was now under arrest. The servants were only allowed to go into the town in cases of extreme necessity.

The new Commissar duly arrived, but he was not the same man of whom Lupin had spoken. This Commissar, who had been sent from Omsk to supervise the life of the Imperial Family, was a Jew named Dutzman. He took up his quarters in Kornilov's house, but he did not take any active part in affairs and he never came to the Governor's house. Shortly afterwards he was elected secretary of the district Soviet, and he stayed there permanently.

At this time the Soviet leaders were: Dutzman, a Jew named Peissel, and a Lett named Disler. Zaslavsky also took part in the Soviet activities. He was, so I understand, the representative of Ekaterinburg, or more properly of the Ural District Soviet. The reason for his arrival was not clear to

me. It seemed that the Omsk Bolsheviks were quarrelling with the Ekaterinburg Bolsheviks, as the Omsk Bolsheviks wished to include Tobolsk under their jurisdiction in Western Siberia—but the Ekaterinburg people wished to include it in the Ural District. Dutzman was an Omsk Bolshevik representative, and Zaslavsky was a representative of the Ekaterinburg Bolsheviks. I presume that Zaslavsky came to Tobolsk because, even at this time, the Ekaterinburg Bolsheviks intended to remove us from Tobolsk to Ekaterinburg. Matveiev, a Bolshevik whom I have mentioned many times, used frequently to visit the Soviet, and he once told me that the Soviet wished two soldiers from each company to come and see them. Six soldiers were delegated to do this, and these informed me afterwards that the Soviet had decided to transfer all the Tsar's family to 'The Hill,' which meant to prison, as the Tobolsk prison, which was situated on a height, was always called 'The Hill.' I pointed out that the Tsar's family was under the authority of the central Soviet and not of the local Soviet, but this did not help matters. I then advanced another argument, saying it was impossible to execute this order, as if the Imperial Family were imprisoned, it would be necessary to transfer all the soldiers of our detachment to prison also, which would not be practicable, and that in case of an attack on the prison there would be no force left to defend it. As our soldiers began to get troublesome, the Soviet was obliged to change its mind, and it announced that no decision had been arrived at, and that the Soviet had merely made a tentative suggestion.

All of us anxiously awaited the arrival of the new Commissar. It was rumoured that Trotzky himself was coming. Finally, the Commissar Yakovlev arrived. He arrived at Tobolsk in the evening of February 9 (22), and stayed in Kornilov's house. He was accompanied by a certain Avdeiev (I looked upon him as Yakovlev's assistant), a telegraph operator, who

transmitted Yakovlev's telegrams to Moscow and Ekaterinburg, and a young boy.

Yakovlev appeared to be about thirty-two or thirty-three years of age. His hair was jet black; he was taller than the average, thin, but strong and muscular; he was apparently a Russian and he gave one the impression of being very energetic. He dressed like a sailor; his speech was abrupt, but his language was suggestive of a good education. His hands were clean and his fingers thin, and he seemed to have acquired the training and experience usually associated with those who have lived abroad. When he took leave of Gillard, he said: 'Bon jour, monsieur.' This showed some knowledge of French.

Yakovlev informed me that he had lived in Finland, where for some reason or other he had been sentenced to be hanged, but he had succeeded in escaping, and had lived in Switzerland and in Germany. So far as I remember, his Christian names were Vasily Vasilievich; Yakovlev was his surname.

Avdeiev appeared to be about twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age. He was of medium height and rather thin; he was dirty and uncouth, and he usually wore a uniform. His face was round but not fat, and it bore no signs of drunkenness.

I forgot to mention that Yakovlev also told me he was born in Ufa or somewhere in the Ufa district. A detachment of Reds, consisting of cavalry and infantry, came with him to Tobolsk, and they were all young soldiers. Yakovlev's idea was to make us understand that as he was popular in Ufa, and knew a large number of people, he had organized his detachment there. His men were quartered partly in Kornilov's house and partly in the rooms occupied by my soldiers. On the morning of April 10 (23) Yakovlev came to me, together with Matveiev, and introduced himself as a Special Commissar. Three documents were in his hands. These documents bore the imprint of the 'RUSSIAN FEDERATIVE SOVIET REPUBLIC,' and were signed by Sverdlov and Ovanesov (or Avanesov).

The first document was addressed to me and ordered me to comply without delay with all requests of the Special Commissar Tovarishch (comrade) Yakovlev, who had been assigned a mission of great importance. My refusal to execute these orders would result in my being instantly killed. The second document was addressed to the soldiers of our detachment. Its contents were much the same as the first, and it also carried a threat of the same penalty—i.e., court-martial by a revolutionary tribunal and instant death. The third document was an identification of Yakovlev, and it stated that he had been assigned a special mission, but no details were given. Without giving me any reason, Yakovlev now said that he wished to talk to the soldiers. At eleven o'clock I therefore assembled the men of my detachment. Yakovlev told them that their representative, Tovarishch (comrade) Lupin, had been to Moscow, where he had petitioned for an increase in their daily allowance. Yakovlev had now brought the money with him, and every soldier was to receive three roubles per day. After this he exhibited his paper of identification and Matveiev read it aloud. The soldiers began to examine the document and paid great attention to the official seal. But it seemed as if they did not repose much confidence in Yakovlev. Yakovlev felt this and began speaking about daily allowances, and he said the time of the relief of the detachment was approaching, and many similar things. Apparently he knew how to handle a mob and how to play upon its weaknesses. He spoke eloquently and earnestly. At the conclusion of his speech he touched on the misunderstanding between the soldiers and the local Soviet on account of the Soviet's decision to imprison the Imperial Family, and he promised to settle the question. After this he went with me to see the Governor's house. He first looked at the exterior; then he entered the lower floor, and then the upper. So far as I can remember, he saw the Emperor and the Grand Duchesses in the distance,

as they were at that time in the courtyard. I suppose he did not see the Empress, but I remember that, accompanied by Avdeiev, he visited the Tsarevich. I had the impression that Yakovlev tried to persuade Avdeiev that the Tsarevich was ill. I remember that the officer on duty was Ensign Semenov, but when Avdeiev wished to remain in his room Semenov protested and succeeded in getting rid of him. Nothing else happened during the day.

On April 11 (24) Yakovlev again requested the soldiers to assemble. Zaslavsky, a representative of the Soviet, and Degtiarev, a student, came to the meeting with him. The student had been sent from Omsk to represent the Siberian interests in the Tobolsk Soviet. Zaslavsky represented the interests of the Ural District. The student began to speak to the soldiers. He accused Zaslavsky of unsettling them and of spreading false rumours about the danger threatening the Imperial Family, and in saying that a tunnel was being dug under the house. Such rumours really existed, and once we had passed a very disturbed night awaiting trouble. These rumours originated in the Soviet, and I had first learned about them when I came to the Soviet at the time they had resolved to imprison the Imperial Family, and the main argument for this decision was the 'Danger for the Imperial Family to remain in the Governor's house.' Such was the substance of the student's speech. Zaslavsky vainly tried to defend himself. He was hissed, and quickly disappeared. Zaslavsky came to Tobolsk about a week before Yakovlev's arrival, and left Tobolsk about six hours before Yakovlev's departure. I will tell you later the motive for this idea of assembling the soldiers and why Yakovlev had to do it.

The same day at eleven o'clock in the evening, Captain Aksiuta came to me and reported that Yakovlev had assembled the committee of the detachment and announced his intention to take the Tsar's family away from Tobolsk.

Yakovlev told the committee that not only the Emperor but the whole Family would have to leave. In the morning of the 12th (25th) of April, Yakovlev came to me and said that according to the decision of the Central Executive Committee he was going to remove the Family from Tobolsk. I asked him 'Why?' and I added, 'What will you do with the Tsarevich? He cannot travel as he is ill?' Yakovlev answered: 'This is the trouble. I have talked it over with the T.S.I.K. (C.E.C.) and I have received an order to leave the Family in Tobolsk and only to take the Emperor away.' (Usually Yakovlev called him the 'former Emperor.') 'When can I see the Family?' he continued. 'I intend to leave the town to-morrow.' I told him that he could see the Family after lunch. Then he left me. I went to the house and asked (so far as I remember) Tatishchev to ask the Emperor at what time he would receive Yakovlev and myself. The Emperor made an appointment at two o'clock, after lunch. At two o'clock Yakovlev and I entered the hall. The Emperor and Empress stood in the middle of the hall, and Yakovlev stopped a little distance away from them and bowed. Then he said: 'I must tell you' (he was talking to the Emperor only) 'that I am the Special Representative of the Moscow Central Executive Committee, and my mission is to take all your Family away from Tobolsk, but, as your son is ill, I have received a second order which says that you alone must leave.' The Emperor replied: 'I refuse to go.' Upon hearing this Yakovlev said: 'I beg you not to refuse. I am compelled to execute the order. In case of your refusal I must take you by force or I must resign my position. In the latter case the Committee would probably send a far less scrupulous man to replace me. Be calm, I am responsible with my life for your safety. If you do not want to go alone, you can take with you any people you wish. Be ready, we are leaving to-morrow at four o'clock.'

Yakovlev again bowed to the Emperor and the Empress and left their presence. At the same time the Emperor, who had not replied to Yakovlev's last words, turned abruptly and, accompanied by the Empress, went out of the hall. I followed Yakovlev out. As we were going out the Emperor made a sign for me to remain. I went down with Yakovlev and then returned upstairs. The Emperor, the Empress, Tatishchev and Dolgoruky were sitting by the round table in the corner. The Emperor asked me where they intended to take him. I replied that personally I did not know, but that from some hints which Yakovlev had dropped I thought that he intended to take the Emperor to Moscow, and that the following reasons made me think so. In the morning of the 12th (25th) of April, Yakovlev told me that he would go on first with the Emperor and then return to fetch the Family. I asked him: 'When do you intend to come back?' and Yakovlev answered: 'Well, in four or five days we shall have reached our destination. We shall remain there for a few days and then I will come back. I shall be here again in about ten days or a fortnight.' I told the Emperor that this made me think that Yakovlev intended to take him to Moscow. The Emperor then said: 'I suppose they want to force me to sign the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, but I would rather cut off my right hand than sign such a treaty.' 'I shall also go,' said the Empress, showing deep emotion. 'If I am not there, they will force him to do something in exactly the same way they did before,' and she added something about Rodzianko. Obviously the Empress referred to the Emperor's abdication.

Thus ended the conversation, and I went to Kornilov's house to see Yakovlev. He asked me who were going, and he repeated (for the second time) that anybody who chose could accompany the Emperor, on condition they did not take too much luggage with them.

I returned to the house and asked Tatishchev to let me know

the persons who intended going with the Emperor. I promised to come back for the names in an hour's time, and when I came back Tatishchev told me that the following persons were leaving Tobolsk: the Emperor, the Empress, the Grand Duchess Maria, Dr. Botkin, Dolgoruky, Chemodurov, Sednev the waiter, and Demidova the maid. When I reported these names to Yakovlev, he answered: 'It's all the same to me.' I suppose Yakovlev's one idea was to get the Emperor out of Tobolsk as soon as possible. When he noticed the Emperor's unwillingness to go alone, Yakovlev doubtless thought: 'Well, let him take whom he likes, so long as I get through with my orders.' That was the reason why he kept on repeating: 'It's all the same to me, let them take anybody they like.' But he did not express the second part of his thought. He did not mention this to me, but all his actions indicated that such was his desire. He was evidently in a great hurry, and for this reason he gave orders to limit the amount of luggage. I did not enter the house any more that day, as I thought that they would feel happier if they were left alone. The Family at this time was preparing for the departure. Gillard told me that the Empress was extremely downhearted, for although she was a very reserved woman, she nevertheless worried about her decision to go with the Emperor, as it involved leaving her beloved son behind. If the Empress had known that they were going to take her to Ekaterinburg, why should she have been so depressed? Ekaterinburg is not far from Tobolsk. But the Empress felt from Yakovlev's actions (and so did everybody else) that he was not taking them to Ekaterinburg, but to some distant place, probably to Moscow. She did not believe that this removal was in order to ensure their safety, but she thought it was for some deeper motive connected with the interests of the State, and that once in Moscow the Emperor would be compelled to arrive at some very serious decisions. The Emperor shared her apprehen-

sions, and he expressed them when he spoke of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

I did not sleep that night. According to Yakovlev's orders I assembled the soldiers again in the evening, and Yakovlev told the men that he intended to take the Emperor away from Tobolsk, but he did not name the place, and he asked the soldiers to treat everything as secret.

From whom was Yakovlev hiding his intentions? I believe that in the Local Soviet, which consisted of Pessel, Disler, Kagomitzky, Pisarevsky and his wife, there were two opinions—the Siberian, which considered Tobolsk within their sphere of influence, and the Uralian, which considered Tobolsk to be in their region. Zaslavsky represented the second opinion. What was the real reason for his arrival in Tobolsk? I can never explain why he came. Many things are still a mystery to me. I don't know whether he came to Tobolsk simply because we were there or not. It was perfectly clear from Yakovlev's speeches that he, Yakovlev, represented a third power, the Central Moscow authorities; but after he came to Tobolsk he began to fear opposition from the Tobolsk Soviet to the removal of the Imperial Family, and he soon settled this matter with them. Zaslavsky was opposed to the removal, so I think that Yakovlev asked the soldiers to keep the departure of the Imperial Family secret, because he feared that the local authorities would not allow them to be taken away. I am persuaded that Yakovlev, being a representative of the third power, worked in accordance with its orders and carried out his instructions from Moscow, and I also believe it was originally intended to take the Imperial Family thither.

The soldiers were confused and disturbed by Yakovlev's anxiety for secrecy. I noticed they were afraid lest some evil might befall them in consequence of all that was going on. They said they must also go with the Emperor, and they told Yakovlev this.

Yakovlev at first refused, saying that his own detachment was quite reliable. But finally he made a compromise, and a small detachment of six men from our soldiers was selected to escort the Emperor.

At four o'clock a.m. the Siberian plaited carriages (Koshevy) were in readiness. One carriage had a hood, but the seat was made of straw which was tied with string to the body of the carriage. The Emperor, the Empress and all the other persons then left the house. The Emperor embraced me and kissed me. The Empress gave me her hand. Yakovlev seated himself in the same carriage as the Emperor, and the Empress took her seat with the Grand Duchess Maria. Dolgoruky was with Botkin, Chemodurov with Sednev. The departing detachment was partly composed of our soldiers, but they were mostly those of Yakovlev. Two machine-guns went with the detachment. A number of cavalry from Yakovlev's detachment also accompanied the party. There were also some carriages with the luggage. The carriages started about four o'clock. After their departure everybody in the house had a strange feeling of distress and sadness. I noticed that even the soldiers were sad, and they began to behave more humanely to the Emperor's children. Afterwards, when I was in Tiumen, one of the coachmen who accompanied the Imperial party told me that as soon as they reached the posting stations the horses were immediately changed and the journey continued without any delay. Once the horses were changed in the village of Pokrovskoe, where the posting station was situated opposite a house which once belonged to Rasputin. I was told that his wife was standing outside the house and his daughter was looking out of a window and both of them made the sign of the Cross to the Tsar's family.

I had asked two soldiers, Lebedev and Nabokov (who were good sort of men), to telegraph me along the route how things were proceeding. I received a telegram from Lebedev sent

from the village of Ivlevo. Nabokov telegraphed me from Pokrovskoe. Both of their telegrams were very brief: 'Proceeding safely.' One telegram was sent from a railway station: 'Proceeding safely. God bless you; how is the little one? Yakovlev.' Of course this telegram was really sent by the Emperor or the Empress with Yakovlev's permission.

On April 20 (May 3) the committee of our detachment received a telegram from Matveiev, who informed it of their arrival at Ekaterinburg. I cannot remember the exact words of the telegram, but we were all greatly surprised at the contents, as we had fully believed that the Emperor and Empress had been taken to Moscow and not to Ekaterinburg. We now began to look for the return of the soldiers from the escorting detachment.

When Lebedev and Nabokov returned they told me that upon their arrival at Tiumen, the Emperor, the Empress and the other persons were placed in a passenger compartment which was guarded by our six soldiers. From Tiumen they proceeded in the direction of Ekaterinburg. At one station they were informed that they would not be allowed to proceed beyond Ekaterinburg, where they would be detained. Zaslavsky had left Tobolsk a few hours before Yakovlev, and had, I suppose, informed the Ekaterinburg Soviet of the departure of the Imperial Family from Tobolsk. Upon hearing this news Yakovlev turned the train back to Omsk in order to go forward via Ufa and Cheliabinsk, but I understood from Nabokov that when the train was approaching Omsk, it was again stopped, and Yakovlev went to find out what was happening. He then learnt that Ekaterinburg had notified Omsk that he had been declared an outlaw on account of his intention to take the Tsar's family to Japan! Yakovlev went at once to Omsk and got into communication with Moscow. On his return he announced: 'I have orders to go to Ekaterinburg.'

When they arrived in Ekaterinburg the Emperor, the

Empress, the Grand Duchess Maria, Dr. Botkin, Chemodurov, Sednev and Demidova were placed in Ipatiev's house. Dolgoruky was taken away to prison. All our soldiers were kept on the train and later disarmed and arrested, but they were speedily released. Each arrested soldier was treated differently. Lebedev and Nabokov were treated much worse than the others. Matveiev and some of the others a little better. They were all released at different times. On one occasion Matveiev went (for what purpose I do not know) to see Goloshchekin and Beloborodov. When all of the soldiers had been released they were placed in a railway carriage in order to return to Tobolsk. Yakovlev than came to see them and told them that he had resigned his position and was going back to Moscow, and he advised the soldiers to go with him and report everything that had happened. It was clear that Yakovlev regarded the hold-up of the train at Ekaterinburg as an act of insubordination on the part of the Ekaterinburg Bolsheviks. The soldiers said that Yakovlev finally left them and went to Moscow alone. I think I can explain these events in this way. Ekaterinburg was a centre of widespread Bolshevism, and it was the capital of the whole Ural region—'the Red Ekaterinburg.' I have heard that Moscow had reproached the Ekaterinburg Bolsheviks for spending too much money and threatened that they would stop sending money if it were not expended more economically. Wishing therefore to safeguard their own interests, the Ekaterinburg Bolsheviks detained the Imperial Family in Ekaterinburg as hostages, in order to make Moscow more amenable to their demands. Possibly I may be mistaken, but such is my impression.

The telegraph operator in Tobolsk who remained after Yakovlev's departure received a telegram from Yakovlev which read as follows: 'Take the detachment with you and depart. I have resigned and I am not responsible for any consequences.'

A party of Yakovlev's detachment still remained in Tobolsk, and that is why Yakovlev sent the telegram. The telegraph operator, a very young man, and the soldiers of the detachment then departed. I don't know where they went. Avdeiev left Tobolsk before Yakovlev, as he had been sent by Yakovlev to prepare a train for the Imperial Family.

Some time elapsed before our committee received a telegram from Moscow, and when it came it announced that Yakovlev had been replaced by Hohriakov. Touching the arrival of Hohriakov in Tobolsk, I can tell you the following: There were no real Bolsheviks in the Tobolsk Soviet. The leaders were mostly Socialist-Revolutionaries, as at this time the Soviets almost everywhere consisted of Communists. Nikolsky was once temporary chairman of the Soviet, and later Dimitriev; a special 'Commissar' came from Omsk to Tobolsk with the intention of creating a Bolshevist organization. A special detachment of soldiers arrived from Omsk with him. At the same time Ekaterinburg claimed that Tobolsk was within their jurisdiction, so another detachment arrived from Tiumen. But Dimitriev, as the representative of Siberian opinion, had the upper hand, and the Tiumen detachment left. Having arranged the Bolshevist organization, Dimitriev returned to Omsk. During this period of the organization of the Soviet rule in Tobolsk, Hohriakov was the first chairman of the Soviet. In those days Bolshevist detachments arrived at Tobolsk from different places. A detachment of Letts was also formed there. Long before the Imperial Family left Tobolsk the Letts were already there, and had created an unpleasant impression by the rough way in which they had searched the Baroness Buxhoevden. I do not know who was their commander, but he apparently did not please Hohriakov, and so he was relieved by Rodionov, who came from Ekaterinburg. A short time after Hohriakov took up his appointment and replaced Yakovlev as Commissar, he

received a telegram from Moscow which instructed him to remove all the remaining members of the Family to Ekaterinburg. I must not forget to mention that after having been appointed Commissar, Hohriakov ordered Rodionov to come from Ekaterinburg to Tobolsk and take charge of the Imperial Family, but not of the Tobolsk district. Hohriakov did not act as chairman of the District Soviet, but he was a special Commissar who supervised the life of the Imperial Family. Some time after he was appointed Commissar, but before our detachment was relieved by Letts, I went to the Governor's house. Our soldiers were on sentry duty, but they did not allow me to enter, saying that this was Hohriakov's order. I asked Hohriakov what this meant. 'They did not understand me,' he answered. For several days after this I continued to visit the house. But shortly after Rodionov's arrival our guards were relieved by the Letts, who occupied all the sentry posts, and I was not allowed to enter the house. This was a few days before the Family left. I also remember that upon his arrival Rodionov came to the Governor's house and assembled the members of the Family ; in fact it was a regular roll-call. This surprised me very much. I was afterwards told that the Letts behaved themselves most disgracefully.

Once after divine service had taken place in the house, they searched the priest and the nuns in a very indecent manner and touched everything in the sanctuary. Rodionov placed one Lett on duty near the sanctuary to watch the priest. This created such unhappiness that the Grand Duchess Olga wept and said that if she had known beforehand that this sort of thing would happen she would never have made a request for divine service.

After I was not allowed to enter the house my nerves gave way and I became ill and had to remain in bed. The Family left Tobolsk on May 7 (20). I was unable to leave my bed and I could not bid them farewell. The following per-

sons went with them to Ekaterinburg: (1) Tatishchev; (2) Derevenko, (3) Hendrykova, (4) Buxhoevden, (5) Schneider, (6) Gillard, (7) Gibbes, (8) Tegleva, (9) Erzberg, (10) Tutelberg, (11) Mejantz, (12) Katia, (13) Masha, (14) Volkov, (15) Nagorny, (16) Ivanov, (17) Tutin, (18) Zhuravsky, (19) Trupp, (20) Haritonov, (21) Kokichev, and (22) Leonid Sednev.

Soon after we had been transferred to Tobolsk from Tsarskoe-Selo two maids, Anna Utkina and Anne Pavlovna Romanova, joined us, but the soldiers did not allow them to enter the Governor's house. They remained at Tobolsk and did not go to Ekaterinburg. I do not know where Hohriakov came from. He was not educated and his capacities were not of a very high order. Previously he had been a stoker on a battleship, the *Alexander II.* He usually wore a black leather suit.

Neither do I know the origin of Rodionov. He was about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, under medium height, uneducated, and he always impressed people unfavourably. He seemed to be a cruel and cunning man. Baroness Buxhoevden assured us that she had seen him during her travels abroad and that she had met him once at a frontier station wearing the uniform of a Russian gendarme. We still felt a little of the gendarme in him, though he was not at all a good type of gendarme; he was, in fact, rather a cruel man with the manners of a secret service agent. After his arrival, Rodionov searched Nagorny when the latter returned to his house from the train. He found a letter from Dr. Derevenko's son to the Tsarevich, and he reported this to Hohriakov, saying, 'This is a nice sort of man; he told me that he had nothing, but I found the letter.' Then, addressing me, he added, 'I am sure that during your time, any quantity of things must have been smuggled in.' Hohriakov was quite pleased and said, 'I have been watching this rascal for quite a long time; he is a disgrace to us.' This is what the *sailor* Hohriakov said

about the *sailor* Nagorny. It could not be otherwise. One was 'the beauty and the pride of the Russian Revolution,' for so Trotzky used to call the sailors of the Baltic Fleet who had murdered their officers. And the other was a man devoted to the Imperial Family, who loved the Tsarevich and who was loved by him. And for this reason he perished. Sednev surely also perished for being 'a disgrace,' as he was also a sailor and devoted to the Imperial Family.

After the departure of the Imperial Family I was cut off from all news for a long time, and nobody could tell me anything about them. In June, Omsk was taken from the Reds. The Omsk Bolsheviks escaped on steamers and came to Tobolsk. Our Tobolsk Bolsheviks also fled with them. All power in Tobolsk was in the hands of the officers, but Tiumen remained in the hands of the Bolsheviks. A fighting line separated us. I then heard news of Hohriakov. He appears to have been in command of something on the river near Pokrovskoe, and it is said that Matveiev was also in command. Tegleva told me afterwards that Hohriakov was not allowed in Ipatiev's house although he was a Commissar. When Tiumen was taken, most of the people who had left Tobolsk with the Imperial Family returned, except the following: (1) Dolgoruky, (2) Tatishchev, (3) Derevenko, (4) Hendrykova, (5) Botkin, (6) Schneider, (7) Tegleva, (8) Erzberg, (9) Tutelberg, (10) Volkov, (11) Nagorny, (12) Chemodurov, (13) Sednev, (14) Trupp, (15) Haritonov, (16) Leonid Sednev, (17) Ivanov.

The refugees told us that during the journey to Ekaterinburg they were treated in a disgraceful manner. Whilst they were on the steamer, Rodionov forbade them to lock the cabin doors from the inside, but Nagorny and the Tsarevich were locked in from the outside. Nagorny was very angry at this and quarrelled with Rodionov, telling him that it was inhuman to treat a sick child in this way. (Even in Tobolsk, Rodionov displayed the same attitude and would not allow the Grand

Duchess Olga to lock the door of her bedroom or even to shut it.)

When the train arrived in Ekaterinburg the Tsarevich, the Grand Duchesses Olga, Maria, Tatiana and Anastasia were transferred to Ipatiev's house. The Emperor and Empress had also been transferred there, with the persons who accompanied them, except Dolgoruky, who was taken to prison. When the children came to Ekaterinburg, Tatishchev, Hendrykova, Schneider and Volkov were immediately arrested. I heard later from Gillard that Sednev and Nagorny were also removed from the house. Gillard and Gibbes both witnessed this. Derevenko remained in Ekaterinburg. Tegleva, Erzberg and Ivanov stayed in Tiumen, and Tutelburg at Kamyshlov. The following persons remained in Ipatiev's house with the Imperial Family: Chemodurov, Sednev (a boy), Trupp, Haritonov, Demidova and Botkin.

Some time after Ekaterinburg was taken, Chemodurov came to Tobolsk. I saw him and talked with him. He came to Tobolsk a destitute, aged man, broken down with mental suffering. He died quite recently. His conversation was incoherent. He could only answer questions, and then his answers were sometimes contradictory. I will tell you the outstanding points of his conversation. It appeared that after their arrival at Ipatiev's house the Emperor, Empress and the Grand Duchess Maria were searched in a very rough manner. The Emperor lost his temper and protested. He was informed rudely that he was a prisoner, and that he had no right to protest. Chemodurov noticed that Avdeiev was the senior guard. The meals were very bad. Dinner was brought from a cheap restaurant and it was always late, sometimes at three or four o'clock instead of one. The Family dined with the servants. The saucepan or baking-dish was put on the table. There was a lack of spoons, knives and forks. The Red soldiers sometimes came in during dinner, and a soldier would often help himself

to the soup, saying, 'There is enough for you, so I will take some myself.' The Grand Duchesses slept on the floor, as there were no beds for them. Roll-calls were frequently made. When the Grand Duchesses went to the lavatory the Red soldiers followed them, saying they did so on purpose to guard them. According to Chemodurov, who was not able to give the whole account as he was so depressed, it was clear that the august Family was constantly subjected to the most intense moral tortures, but Chemodurov did not believe that the Family had been killed. He said that Botkin, Haritonov, Demidova and Trupp were killed, and that the Family had been taken away; he told me that by killing the aforementioned people the soldiers simulated the murder of the Family, and for the same reason the house was dismantled. Some of the things were burned and others were thrown into the waste basket. I remember he told me that somebody had found pieces of a Holy Image and an Order of St. Vladimir which was always worn by Dr. Botkin.

Shortly after this Volkov came to Tobolsk. He said that Hendrykova, Schneider and himself had been taken from the train at Ekaterinburg and sent to prison. From thence they were transferred to a prison in Perm. Afterwards they were led out to be shot, but he escaped on the way. The others were all executed.

In Tobolsk I heard for the first time about the murder of the Imperial Family. I saw it in the Omsk newspaper *Zaria*, or perhaps in a Tobolsk newspaper *Narodnoe-Slovo*. The Bolshevist communication described the 'execution' of 'the Emperor Nicholas the Sanguinary.'

With regard to the private life and character of the members of the Imperial Family, I can state from my personal knowledge that the Emperor was a very clever, well-informed man, and he was most interesting to talk to, as he had a remarkable memory. He was very fond of physical labour and could not

keep in good health without it. He was very modest in his requirements. Even in Tsarskoe-Selo I saw him wearing old trousers and worn boots. He drank very little, and during dinner he only drank one glass of port or Madeira. He liked simple Russian dishes such as borshch, shchi and kasha. I remember one day that he came to the wine cellar and ordered Rojkov to give me some cognac, saying, 'You know I don't drink cognac myself.' I never saw him drink anything except port or Madeira. He was very religious. *He hated all Germans.* His most striking characteristics were kindness and clemency. He was exceptionally kind; he never wished to cause any one pain. This always impressed people who, like myself, found him modest and frank. He always behaved in a very natural manner. In Tobolsk he played 'chequers' with the soldiers, and I am sure that many of the soldiers were well disposed towards the Imperial Family. I remember that when the soldiers (the good ones) were leaving Tobolsk they went secretly to the Emperor to bid him farewell. The Emperor believed that the Russian was a mild, kind-hearted fellow who did not understand many things, but that it was easy to impress him and influence him by kindness. The Tsar himself was of this type. I often pitied him for this delusion, as the soldiers frequently acted like hooligans in the absence of the Imperial Family and often made improper jokes about them. But they were afraid to do so in their presence.

The Tsar loved Russia, and more than once I heard him express his fear lest he should be sent away from Russia. He did not understand art, but he liked nature and shooting. It was absolutely painful to him to abstain from shooting for any length of time, and he disliked to be obliged to spend his time indoors. His character was weak, and therefore he was influenced by his wife. I noticed that even when he was consulted about minor details, his usual answer was, 'I will ask my wife; her wishes are mine.'

The Empress was very clever but extremely reserved. Her main characteristic was her love of power. She looked every inch an Empress. When you spoke to the Emperor there were moments when you forgot you were speaking to the Tsar, but when you spoke to the Empress the feeling that she was one of the Imperial Family never left you. Owing to her character she always took the lead in Family affairs. The Empress felt their humiliating position much more keenly than the Emperor, and everybody noticed how rapidly she aged. She spoke and wrote Russian very correctly, and she also loved Russia. Like the Emperor, she dreaded being exiled from Russia. She had a talent for painting and embroidery. You could not discern much of the German in her; in fact, you might have thought that she had been born in a very different country. This was explained by her education, as, after her mother's death, she had been educated in England by her grandmother, Queen Victoria. I never heard her say a single German word. She used to speak Russian, English and French. There was no doubt of her bad health, and Dr. Botkin explained the nature of it to me. As she was the daughter of the Grand Duke of Hesse, she had inherited a family weakness of the blood vessels. This malady sometimes produced paralysis, following a fall from which the Tsarevich was suffering. The men of the family usually shook off the hereditary complaint at the time of their maturity, when this trouble entirely disappeared. With the women the illness started after the critical period, when they often suffered from progressive hysteria. It was quite clear that the Empress suffered from hysteria. Botkin explained to me that this was the origin of her religious ecstasy. All her activities and all her thoughts were influenced by religious motives, and there was always an element of religion in her life. Whenever she gave a present to anybody, it always bore the inscription: 'God bless you and protect you,' or something similar. There is no doubt that she loved her husband, but she

loved him not as a woman loves a man, but merely as the father of her children. She loved all her children, but she adored her son.

The Grand Duchess Olga was a nice-looking young blonde of about twenty-three ; her type was Russian. She was fond of reading, she was clever, well developed mentally, and she spoke English well and German badly. She had some talent for art, she played the piano and sang (she learnt singing in Petrograd ; her voice was soprano), and she painted well. She was very modest and she did not care for luxury.

Her clothes were simple and she restrained her sisters from extravagance in dress. She gave me the impression of a good, generous-hearted Russian girl. It seemed as if she had had some sorrows in her life, and she still bore traces of them. She loved her father more than she loved her mother ; she also loved her brother, and called him ' the Little One ' or ' the Baby.'

The Grand Duchess Tatiana was about twenty years of age. She was quite different from her sisters. You could recognize her mother in her. You felt that she was the daughter of an Emperor. She had no liking for art. When the Emperor and Empress left Tobolsk nobody would ever have thought that the Grand Duchess Olga was the senior of the remaining members of the Imperial Family, as if any questions arose it was always Tatiana who was appealed to. She was dearer to her mother than the other children, and she loved her mother more than she did her father.

The Grand Duchess Maria was aged eighteen. She was tall, strong, and much better looking than her sisters. She painted well and she was a most amiable girl. She always used to talk to the soldiers and knew the names of their wives, the number of their children and the amount of land they owned. All intimate affairs were always known to her. Like the Grand Duchess Olga, she loved her father more than anybody. On

account of her simplicity and her affability she was given the pet name of 'Mashka.' And she was always called 'Mashka' by her brother and her sisters.

The Grand Duchess Anastasia was seventeen. She was over-developed for her age, short and too stout in proportion to her height. Her chief characteristic was seeing the weak points in other people and making fun of them. She was a born comedian and always made everybody laugh. She preferred her father to her mother, and she loved Maria Nikolaievna more than her other sisters.

All the Grand Duchesses were nice, modest, innocent girls. There is no doubt they were much cleaner in their thoughts than the majority of girls are nowadays.

The Tsarevich was the idol of the whole family. He was only a child and his character was not developed, but he was a very clever, capable and lively boy. He spoke Russian, French and English, but he did not know a word of German.

I can truthfully say that the Imperial Family all loved each other and were so contented with their family life that they never wanted the society of others. I have never seen, and I shall probably never again see, such a happy and united family.

The time will come when the Russian people will realize what terrible tortures this family was subjected to, from the first days of the Revolution when the newspapers published scandalous stories about their private life. Take, for instance, the story of Rasputin. I had many talks about this with Dr. Botkin, who insisted that the Empress suffered from hysteria, which induced religious ecstasy. Besides, when her only and beloved son was ill, there seemed no one who could help him but Rasputin, so a mother's sorrow and her religious ecstasy created the cult of Rasputin. Rasputin was a saint to her, and as she had great influence over her husband, she converted him to her ideas in this matter. After I lived with the Family

and was closely associated with them, I fully understood how unjust the stories and the insults were that were heaped upon them. The Empress Alexandra, as a woman, had long ceased to exist. One can imagine what she and her children suffered when they read the Russian newspapers!

They were even accused of treachery in favour of Germany. I have already explained the feelings of the Emperor towards the Germans. The Empress hated Wilhelm. She often said, 'I am accused of liking and of helping the Germans, but nobody knows how I hate Wilhelm for all the evil he has brought on my country.' She had Germany and not Russia in her mind when she used the word 'country.' Tatishchev told me that once when she was talking to him about the confusion in Russia, she prophesied that the same thing would eventually happen in Germany. The Grand Duchesses evinced the same bad feeling towards the Emperor Wilhelm, and I remember that they gave to the servants all the presents which they had received from Wilhelm during his visit to their yacht.

I cannot remember anything else except that the Emperor used to keep a diary, but I cannot say whether the Empress kept one or not. All the Grand Duchesses used to keep diaries, but before their departure from Tobolsk, Maria and Anastasia destroyed theirs.

I read in a newspaper that whilst the Emperor was in prison in Ekaterinburg somebody came to him and offered to save him, on certain conditions. But when the Emperor learnt that the man had been sent by the Emperor Wilhelm, he refused to parley with him. I cannot say from whence the Letts who arrived at Tobolsk came. But the Lett detachment which took the children from Tobolsk never returned. Hohriakov also failed to return.

Miss Hitrovo visited Tobolsk. She was quite a young girl, and she adored the Grand Duchess Olga. Her arrival created a whole story that was taken up and exaggerated by all the

newspapers. She was searched, but nothing compromising was discovered on her.

My testimony has been read to me and it is correct.

(*Signed*) EUGENE STEPANOVICH KOBYLINSKY.
(*Signed*) N. SOKOLOV.

THE DEPOSITION OF M. GILLARD

M. GILLARD was attached to the Imperial Household in the capacity of French tutor to the Grand Duchesses and the Tsarevich. He was with the Family at Tsarskoe-Selo at the outbreak of the Revolution, and like other members of the Household, he elected to remain under arrest. M. Gillard especially mentions the Emperor's love for his country and his bitterness of heart after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and he insists that the attitude of the Emperor and the Empress towards Germany was one of hatred and contempt.

M. Gillard's deposition is important inasmuch as it includes a conversation which he had with Chemodurov in the latter part of August, 1918. Chemodurov then believed that the Imperial Family had not been murdered, but had been removed to an unknown destination. M. Gillard did not, however, place much reliance in this statement. He describes his visit to Ipatiev's house, and relates a curious superstition of the Empress, who seems to have placed credence in the efficacy of two Egyptian symbols as luck bringers.

On March 5, 1919, the Investigating Magistrate for Cases of Special Importance of the Omsk Tribunal, in conformity with Paragraph 443 of the Code of Criminal Law Procedure, examined the undermentioned in the capacity of a witness, notifying him that during the investigation he might be put on his oath.

Replying to the questions put to him, the witness gave his name as

PIERRE ANDREIEVICH GILLARD,

and said: Since the year 1905 I have given French lessons to the daughters of His Majesty, and in 1912 I began to teach French to the Grand Duke Alexis. I began these lessons in Spala, but shortly afterwards they were interrupted, as the Grand Duke met with an accident. I heard about this from the other people who were attached to the Emperor's family. It seemed that the Grand Duke Alexis, whilst swimming in a bathing pool, slipped and hurt his stomach. The result of this accident caused temporary paralysis of the foot. He was ill for a very long time, and in consequence, all his studies were interrupted. They were, however, resumed in 1913, at which time I became assistant tutor to the Grand Duke.

I then lived in the Palace, where I occupied the rooms next those of the Tsarevich. In 1913 he went to the Crimea, and after that we came to Tsarskoe-Selo. In the spring of 1913 we went to the Crimea, Constance and Finland. From Finland we returned to Peterhof, in order to meet M. Poincaré, the French President. The Imperial Family resided at Peterhof at the beginning of the war.

In 1915 we were at Tsarskoe-Selo until the Emperor assumed supreme command of the Army. During this time I often went with the Tsarevich to the Stavka (General Army Headquarters) and to most of the places where the Emperor took his son.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the Emperor was at the Stavka and his Family were at Tsarskoe-Selo. The Imperial Family experienced much anxiety during this period, as the children all had the measles. At first the Tsarevich fell ill, and later all the Grand Duchesses took the complaint in succession. Everybody was worried by the uncertainty of the situation and the ignorance of the fate of the Emperor. A

very unsettled feeling existed amongst the Guards Rifles who were quartered in Tsarskoe-Selo. One night in particular was most alarming, but fortunately the commotion amongst the soldiers was calmed by the officers.

The Emperor's abdication on behalf of the Tsarevich was notified the Imperial Family by the General in Command of the Svodny (combined) Guard Regiment. Later the Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovich came to the Palace and officially announced to Her Majesty the news of the Emperor's abdication.

General Kornilov also came to the Palace and informed the Empress that she must consider herself under arrest. After General Kornilov's arrival Her Majesty instructed me to say that every one could leave the Palace except those who cared to stay of their own free will, and who would consequently have to submit to the conditions imposed on those who were already under arrest. Nearly everybody chose to remain, and so did I. During this time the Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaievna was taken ill with inflammation of the lungs, and a little later the Emperor arrived at Tsarskoe-Selo.

The restrictions imposed upon the Imperial Family consisted in certain limitations of their f dom. The Palace was surrounded by sentries. The 'prisoners' were only allowed to walk in the park for a fixed time, and they were always accompanied by a sentry. All the mail passed through the hands of the Commandant of the Palace. Kotsebue was the first Commandant. He was replaced by Korovichenko, who in turn was replaced by Kobylinsky, who was formerly in command of the garrison.

Kerensky came to Tsarskoe-Selo on several occasions. He visited us in his capacity of the Head of the new Government in order to observe our conditions of life. His manners and attitude towards the Emperor were cold and official. His behaviour gave me the impression of the treatment of an

accused person by a judge who is convinced of his guilt. Nevertheless, I must admit that Kerensky was always courteous. When addressing the Emperor he called His Majesty Nicholas Alexandrovich. At the same time I noticed that Kerensky, like everybody else, avoided calling the Emperor by his name; it seemed as though it embarrassed them to address him as Nicholas Alexandrovich.

Kerensky once came to the Palace with Korovichenko and Kobylinsky, and confiscated all the Emperor's private papers. I am sure that directly Kerensky had gone through these papers he knew that the Emperor was innocent of wrong to his country, and he immediately changed his attitude and his manner towards the Emperor.

During the stay of the Imperial Family in Tsarskoe-Selo several disagreeable incidents occurred. The first was the confiscation of a toy rifle belonging to the Tsarevich, which was taken away at the request of the soldiers. The second incident was the refusal of the soldiers to answer the Emperor's greeting. The Emperor always addressed the soldiers with some few words of greeting, and even after the Emperor's abdication the soldiers used to answer, '*Sdrástvuite Gospodín Polkóvnik*' (Good [illegible], Colonel). But on one occasion, after having been spoken to by the Emperor, the soldiers remained silent. It appeared, however, that this was by order of some assistant commandant of the Palace, whose name I do not remember.

Sometimes the Imperial Family had to wait a considerable time in the semi-circular hall where they used to assemble before taking the walk in the park. But it was the guards who were late and who kept everybody else waiting.

However, these incidents were mere trifles in comparison with the sufferings which were inflicted later on the Imperial Family.

In the middle of July it became known (how, I cannot tell)

that the Emperor and the Imperial Family were about to change their residence from Tsarskoe-Selo to some other place. At first it was rumoured that a voyage was to be taken to the South, but later it transpired that we were to proceed to Tobolsk.

This step was due to the fears of the Government for the safety of the Imperial Family. At this time the Government intended taking a firm course in handling the affairs of the nation, but it feared that such a policy would create some outburst amongst the population which would have to be checked by armed force. Thinking, therefore, that in the course of the coming struggle we might also suffer, the Government decided to send the Imperial Family to a more tranquil environment than the immediate vicinity of Petrograd. All this was told me by Her Majesty, who had been informed by Kerensky of the Government's decision.

The persons who went to Tobolsk with the Imperial Family were Count Dolgoruky, M. Tatishchev, Dr. Botkin, Miss Schneider and myself. Later we were joined by M. Derevenko, Mr. Gibbes and Baroness Buxhoevden, who had volunteered to stay with the Imperial Family.

The Imperial Family lived in the house of the Governor of Tobolsk. I also lived with the Imperial Family. The other members of the suite were quartered in a house belonging to M. Kornilov, just opposite the Governor's house. Life in Tobolsk was very similar to what it had been in Tsarskoe-Selo, and the same restrictions were imposed.

Our guards were composed of soldiers who were formerly in the Tsarskoe-Selo Rifle regiments. Kobylinsky was, as before, the commandant of the house. We were accompanied on our journey to Tobolsk by two representatives of the Government, Makarov and Vershinin (the latter a member of the Duma). The representatives spent a few days in Tobolsk and then left. Their attitude towards the Imperial Family

was quite courteous and kindly—this was very noticeable with Makarov, especially in his manner towards the children.

In the middle of October a person named Pankratov, a Commissar of the Government, accompanied by his assistant, Nikolsky, arrived at Tobolsk. They were directed to supervise our life, and Kobylinsky was made subordinate to them. As to the effect of the arrival of these two men upon the welfare of the Imperial Family, I cannot say that it was productive of harm, except that their behaviour towards the guards unfortunately demoralized most of the soldiers.

So far as we were able to judge, the inhabitants of Tobolsk were well disposed toward the Imperial Family. Occasionally they sent us bon-bons, cakes and various sweets, and when they passed the house and noticed any members of the Imperial Family, they always bowed.

The Rifles, who composed our guard, were *en masse* rather kindly men. There were naturally some good men among the soldiers, but most of them were bad. Until the Bolshevist Revolution, however, the latter did not openly show their evil tendencies.

The Bolshevist Revolution brought misfortune to the Imperial Family and the whole of Russia. The soldiers were the first to fall under its influence, and those who were bad and evilly disposed now became rough and cruel in their ways.

On January 25 the soldiers turned out Pankratov and Nikolsky and decided to ask for a Bolshevik Commissar from Moscow. The soldiers now forbade the Baroness Buxhoevden to live in Kornilov's house.

The worst troubles happened after the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, when the soldiers began to behave in a disgraceful manner. The Tsarevich noticed some inscriptions on the board of the swing used by the Grand Duchesses, but he did not have time to read them. However, directly the Emperor noticed them he asked Dolgoruky to remove the board, upon which vulgar,

disgraceful, and stupid words had been cut by the soldiers.

The Imperial Family were also forbidden to attend divine service. They were only allowed to go to church on important feast days. The soldiers insisted upon the Emperor removing the shoulder-straps from his uniform. Twice he refused to do this, but finally, after Kobylinsky had informed him that his refusal might result in serious trouble for himself and his family, the Emperor submitted to this demand.

A little hill had been made in the garden for the amusement of the children, and from its summit the Emperor and the Empress once watched the departure of a large number of the soldiers (at that time many soldiers left Tobolsk on account of the demobilization of the army), but afterwards the soldiers who remained levelled the hill to the ground.

Things became worse and worse, especially when all sources of revenue were confiscated from the Imperial Family. This occurred on February 12. That same day a telegram arrived from Moscow. I cannot tell you who sent it. In this telegram a new mode of life was imposed on the Imperial Family. Up to this time the Imperial Family had been maintained by the Government Treasury. Their conditions of life were quite appropriate and ran on the same lines as the existence led by the former Emperor and his family at Tsarskoe-Selo.

By the order of the Bolshevist authorities lodging, heating and lighting were to be provided for the Imperial Family, but everything else had to be obtained at their own expense or at the expense of those persons connected with them. We were also forbidden to earn money. I wanted to earn some money by giving private lessons in the town, but the soldiers would not allow me to do so, and told me I should have to leave the house altogether if I would not adapt myself to the conditions they imposed.

By Bolshevist orders the Imperial Family were forbidden to spend more than four thousand two hundred roubles per

month for themselves and their servants. This state of affairs soon affected our daily life. Coffee, butter and cream disappeared from the table. The scarcity of sugar was seriously felt, as sugar was distributed in an allowance of half a pound per person for each month. Dinner now consisted of two courses, for those who had been accustomed from the time of their birth to an entirely different life, and it was far more difficult for them to reconcile themselves to the situation than for those who were not used to the luxuries which the Imperial Family had always enjoyed. The lack of resources and the necessity for economy made it impossible to pay the church choir for singing during the divine services held in the house. The choristers, however, volunteered to sing free of charge, but after that a small remuneration was always paid them.

The number of servants was considerably reduced and ten of the staff were discharged.

At last the attitude of the soldiers became so menacing that Kobylinsky, after losing all hope of retaining or of regaining control over them, told the Emperor that he wished to resign his position. The Emperor begged him to stay, and Kobylinsky yielded to his request.

In order to make life a little more cheerful, playlets were staged, in which the children took part. The Emperor tried to find forgetfulness in physical labour. He sawed wood with Tatishchev and Dolgoruky, his daughters or myself. He also supervised the Tsarevich's lessons and personally instructed him in history and geography.

But all the efforts made by the Emperor to conceal his feelings could not hide his real sufferings from any observant person, and especially after the Brest-Litovsk Treaty a marked change was noticed in him that indicated his condition of mental depression. I can honestly say that His Majesty was overwhelmed with grief at the news of this Treaty.

During this time the Emperor discussed politics with me on several occasions—a thing which he had never done before. It seemed as if his soul yearned for human companionship, and hoped by such companionship to find relief from the intensity of his grief. I cannot state everything that he told me, but the gist of his words and thoughts was that up to the moment of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty he had believed in the future prosperity of Russia—but that after the Treaty he had completely lost faith in everything and everybody.

The Emperor criticised Kerensky and Guchkov very sharply, as he considered them to be the most guilty for the collapse of the Army. The Emperor thought that by their weakness and incapacity the Army had disintegrated, with the result that it had opened the way for the Germans to corrupt Russia. He regarded the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as a disgrace and treasonable on the part of Russia towards her Allies. He said bitterly: 'And those who *dared* accuse Her Majesty of treason have turned out to be the real traitors.'

The Emperor looked upon Lenin and Trotzky, the leaders of the Bolshevist movement, as German agents who had sold Russia for a large sum.

After the Brest-Litovsk Treaty the Emperor and Empress disdained both the German Government and the Emperor Wilhelm. They thought that the German Government and the Emperor Wilhelm had disgraced themselves by entering into negotiations with the Bolsheviks, and they condemned the outrageous methods of warfare to which the Germans had resorted.

Such was the tenor of our life during February and March. On March 30 a delegate, previously sent to Moscow by the committee of our soldiers, returned to Tobolsk. He brought a written order to Kobylinsky which stated that our life from this time onwards must be more rigorously supervised. We were all ordered to live in the Governor's house, and a new

plenipotentiary Commissar was sent to Tobolsk for the purpose of enforcing the new restrictions. On April 9 (22) this Commissar arrived. His name was Yakovlev. On April 10 (23) he came to our house for the first time and was received by the Emperor. On the same day he visited the Tsarevich, who was ill at the time. Yakovlev came back shortly afterwards with an assistant (whose name I do not remember) and they both went up to see the Tsarevich. On the same day Yakovlev was received by the Empress. Yakovlev made quite a favourable impression on the Emperor, who told me that he believed him to be an honest man.

The reason for Yakovlev's arrival was a mystery to us. But the mystery was solved on April 12 (25). On that date Yakovlev went to the Emperor and announced that he had orders to take him away from Tobolsk. The Emperor replied that he would not leave Tobolsk, as he would not be separated from his son, who was ill (the Tsarevich during this period was suffering from the same complaint that he had in Spala in 1912, but now the fall had involved paralysis of the right foot), and therefore he, the Emperor, did not intend to leave his family. Yakovlev answered that he was merely fulfilling his instructions, and if the Emperor refused to leave Tobolsk, a choice of two evils would have to be made. If the Emperor refused to obey orders, another less scrupulous Commissar would be sent; or failing this he would be obliged to use force to impose the order. At the same time Yakovlev told the Emperor that he might be accompanied by any persons he liked. The only thing was to submit to Yakovlev's demands. Everything that I have told you in connection with this I heard direct from Her Majesty.

Nobody knew where the Emperor was to be taken. His Majesty asked Yakovlev, but the latter answered in such a way that did not make the destination clear. Kobylinsky told us that Yakovlev had at first informed him that the

destination was Moscow, but said afterwards that he did not know where the Emperor was going to be taken.

All this was intensely painful and humiliating for the Imperial Family, and they suffered most acutely. Her Majesty was greatly distressed by having to decide whether she would accompany the Emperor or stay with the Tsarevich.

She made up her mind that she would go with the Emperor, and it was decided that the Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaievna should accompany them. The rest of the family was to stay in Tobolsk until the Tsarevich had recovered from his illness.

Yakovlev fixed the time of departure at four o'clock in the morning of April 13 (26). The evening before, when we had tea together, the Emperor and Empress wished us farewell and thanked everybody for his services.

At three o'clock in the morning the carriages arrived at the door. They were wretched-looking vehicles with no seats and no springs, and one had to seat oneself at the bottom, and stretch out one's feet. Only a telega (peasant cart) had a *capot* (hood). In this we decided to place Her Majesty. As the carriages were so uncomfortable we went to the yard where an employé by the name of Kirpichinikov kept his pigs. He had some straw in stock, and we used this to cover the floor of the hooded cart, and, I think, we put some of the straw inside the other carriages. We also put a mattress inside the covered cart. The Emperor wished to go with Her Majesty and Maria Nikolaievna, but Yakovlev insisted that the Emperor should ride in the same cart as he did. They left shortly after four o'clock in the morning of April 13 (26).

At this time the following persons left Tobolsk: The Emperor and Empress, the Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaievna, Dr. Botkin, Dolgoruky, Chemodurov, Sednev and Demidova. They were escorted by six riflemen and two officers—Matveiev and Nabokov—as well as by soldiers of Yakovlev's detachment.

Shortly after the Emperor's departure one of the drivers

brought us a short note from Maria Nikolaievna. She said that the conditions of travelling were extremely hard, that the road was bad and that the carriage was awful!

Later Kobylinsky received a wire from Nabokov announcing the arrival of the party at Tiumen. Greatly to the surprise of every one Kobylinsky suddenly received a telegram from Matveiev, stating that the Emperor and all the persons in his party had been held up in Ekaterinburg. This was quite unexpected, as we all thought that the Emperor had been taken to Moscow.

On April 24 (May 7) a letter arrived from the Empress. She said that they were lodged in two rooms of Ipatiev's house, and that they felt very much overcrowded, and the only place where they could walk was a small dusty garden. She also said that all their belongings had been searched, even their 'medicines,' and in discreet language she gave us to understand that it would be wise for us to remove our valuables from Tobolsk. As previously agreed between us she used the word 'medicines' instead of 'jewels.' Later Tegleva received a letter from Demidova, written by order of Her Majesty. In this letter, in which we were instructed how to deal with the jewels, she used the expression 'Sednev's property.'

On April 25 the two officers and the five soldiers who had gone to Ekaterinburg with the Emperor returned to Tobolsk and told us the following story. Yakovlev had first taken the Emperor to Omsk. But at a distance of one hundred versts from Omsk he took the train and proceeded to Omsk alone. Afterwards he returned and the party proceeded to Ekaterinburg. The Commissars at Ekaterinburg held up the train. Dolgoruky was arrested and taken to prison from the station. All the officers and men were placed under arrest, and were kept in a cellar for two days, and only liberated on the third day after some protest had been made. The general impression which we gathered from their narrative was that the detention

of the train was unexpected by Yakovlev. The officers told us that he was hustling around all over the place, but was unable to accomplish anything. We were also told that Yakovlev proceeded later to Moscow and wired to Kobylinsky and Hohriakov (the chairman of the Tobolsk Soviet) that he had resigned his position of Commissar to the Imperial Family.

We now commenced preparations for our own departure. On April 25 (May 8) the chairman of the Local Soviet, Hohriakov, visited our house for the first time. After that he called on us frequently, urging us to hurry our departure. I remember that the Grand Duchesses wanted to have divine service on May 5 (18), the birthday of the Emperor, but Hohriakov forbade this, saying that no time must be wasted. On May 7, at eleven o'clock in the morning, we went to the steamer *Russ*, and about three or four o'clock we left Tobolsk. We were escorted by a detachment commanded by Rodionov, which was composed chiefly of Letts. Rodionov did not behave at all well, he locked the cabin in which were the Tsarevich and Nagorny. All the other cabins, including those of the Grand Duchesses, were also locked by his order.

On May 9 (22) we reached Tiumen, and the same day we entrained, and arrived at Ekaterinburg on May 10 (23) at 2 a.m. During the night we were going backwards and forwards from one station to another, and we were transferred from one track to another. About nine o'clock the train stopped between two stations. The weather was very unpleasant and there was a continuous drizzling rain. Five isvoshchiks (cabs) were awaiting us. Rodionov and some Commissars approached the car in which the children were seated. The Grand Duchesses then came out of the car. Tatiana Nikolaievna carried her pet dog under one arm, and she also carried a bag, the latter with apparent difficulty, as she dragged it along the pavement. Nagorny wanted to help her, but he

was roughly pushed aside. I noticed that Nagorny went in the same cab as the Tsarevich. I remember that there was a Commissar or some other Bolshevik agent in every cab. I wanted to leave the train and wish them good-bye, but I was held up by a sentry. I never thought that I was then seeing them for the last time; and I did not even know that I was already discharged from the service of the Imperial Family.

At last our train came into the station. About three hours later I saw Tatishchev, Hendrykova and Schneider taken out of the train escorted by soldiers. A little later Haritonov, little Sednev, Volkov and Trupp were also taken away. I had almost forgotten to say that the children were accompanied by Dr. Derevenko. In a little while Rodionov arrived and told us that we 'were not wanted,' and that we were 'free.' The Baroness Buxhoevden was then transferred to our car.

In about three days we received an order from the Soviet to leave the Perm district and to return to Tobolsk. We could not fulfil this order as the way was then cut off by the advancing Czechs, so we stayed in Ekaterinburg. During this time I visited the town and had a look at Ipatiev's house.

On May 14 or 15 (28) I witnessed the following sight: I was walking in the streets of Ekaterinburg with Derevenko and Mr. Gibbes. When we were passing Ipatiev's house we noticed Sednev, who was sitting in a cab surrounded by soldiers with fixed bayonets. Nagorny was seated in another cab. The latter looked up when he saw us and gazed at us for quite a long time, but he did not make a single sign of recognition.

The cabs, surrounded by cavalry, drove away towards the centre of the town. We followed them as fast as we could and finally saw them disappear in the direction of the prison.

Our party, consisting of eighteen persons, at last proceeded to Tiumen. At Kamyshlov the Soviet did not allow us to

go any further. We stayed at Kamyshlov for ten days. The town was dirty, and the whole place was full of disease. Finally we were allowed to board a train containing a number of Serbs, and we arrived at Tiumen.

We suffered very severely, but I do not wish to mention my personal sufferings.

In the latter part of August I was visited by Chemodurov. His first words were : ' Thank God, the Emperor, Her Majesty and the children are alive—but all the others are killed.' He told me that he was in Ipatiev's house when ' Botkin and the others ' were shot. He said that he had seen the bodies of Sednev and Nagorny, whom he recognized by their clothes, and he declared that their bodies had been put in coffins and buried. He told me that all the others had been obliged to put on soldiers' uniforms and had been taken away. It was difficult to understand Chemodurov, as he talked very irrationally.

Chemodurov also said that the life of the Imperial Family in Ekaterinburg was terrible, that they were very badly oppressed, and that they were obliged to have their meals with the servants. The Commandant, Avdeiev, who also had his meals with the Imperial Family, was often drunk, and sometimes came into the room where the Imperial Family was seated, without his tunic.

Chemodurov declared that Avdeiev often behaved in an indecent and insulting manner. For example, during meals, if he wanted to help himself from the dish he would reach in front of the Emperor and Her Majesty, and in so doing would brush the Emperor's face with his elbow.

The Grand Duchesses slept on the floor after their arrival at Ekaterinburg. The Bolsheviks took away a little bag which Her Majesty always used to carry in her hand, and they also took away a gold chain by which the Holy Images were attached to the Tsarevich's bed.

After Chemodurov's arrival Mr. Gibbes and myself went to Ekaterinburg for the purpose of giving assistance to Sergeiev, who was a member of the Court, as Chemodurov had told us that Sergeiev was in charge of the investigation of the fate of the Imperial Family. Together with Sergeiev we visited Ipatiev's house and inspected the room that had bullet holes on the wall and on the floor. In this house I found two 'Egyptian signs' which the Empress was in the habit of drawing on various things for Good Luck. One of those signs I noticed was drawn on the wallpaper of Her Majesty's room, the other was drawn on the side of the window in another room, and under the Egyptian signs (the swastika) a date was written in pencil: 17/30 April—the date of Her Majesty's arrival in Ekaterinburg. My attention was also attracted to the stoves, which were full of half-burned articles. I recognized a considerable number of these, such as tooth and hair brushes, pins and a number of various things bearing the initials 'A. F.' (Alexandra Feodorovna).

I received the impression that if the Imperial Family had been really removed from Ekaterinburg, they must have been taken away without any of their personal belongings. All the things which they would have required had been burned. Nevertheless, at the time I left the house I could not believe that the Imperial Family had really perished. There was such a small number of bullet holes in the room which I had inspected, that I thought it impossible for everybody to have been executed. After I returned from Ekaterinburg to Tiumen, Volkov called on me, but I did not recognize him, as I had read in the newspapers that after the attempt on the life of Lenin, Hendrykova, Schneider and Volkov had been shot.

Volkov told me that he had been taken direct from the train and put in the Ekaterinburg prison. From this prison he, Hendrykova and Schneider had been transferred to another prison at Perm. Tatishchev was also in prison in Ekaterin-

burg. He was once taken out of prison and was never put back. I could hardly understand from Volkov what had actually happened to Tatishchev. Volkov said that he had seen a Bolshevik order commanding Tatishchev to leave the Perm district. Volkov was put in a cell with the valet of the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich, and the valet told him that when the Grand Duke lived in Perm he was visited one night by four armed men, one of whom aimed his pistol at the valet and ordered him to stand still. The others told the Grand Duke to follow them. The Grand Duke refused to obey and said that he would only obey the orders of a member of the Soviet. In reply to this, one of the armed men went up to the Grand Duke, and took him by the collar, saying: 'Here is another of the damned Romanovs.'

Volkov, Hendrykova, Schneider, and some other people were taken out of prison into the woods. Volkov understood that they were all going to be shot, so he tried to escape. When he was out of danger of pursuit, he stopped and heard the sound of volleys coming from the place where the others had been taken. He believed that Hendrykova and the rest were murdered. He thought that the Bolsheviks must have considered him dead, because when they fired at him as he was running away, he tripped and fell. He then heard a voice say: 'He's *done* for.'

Volkov also related the following incident concerning the fate of the Grand Duke Michael: The Grand Duke had to submit to force and accompany his captors. One of the men remained with the valet to prevent him from notifying anybody. But the valet escaped and told the Soviet everything that had happened. A tumult occurred in the Soviet, but nevertheless the members were in no hurry to start in pursuit of the men. About an hour later they instituted a search for the Grand Duke. It was very difficult to obtain any definite information from Volkov as to the ultimate fate of

the Grand Duke Michael, but it appeared that when the Grand Duke followed the strangers, the valet said to him: 'Your Highness, don't forget to take your *medicine* with you. It is on the shelf above the stove.'

I have nothing more to declare. My statement has been read to me and it is correct.

(*Signed*) GILLARD.
(*Signed*) N. SOKOLOV.

THE DEPOSITION OF MR. GIBBES

THE deposition of Mr. Gibbes should prove interesting to the public as being that of an Englishman who was wholly and unselfishly devoted to the Imperial Family. Sidney Gibbes acted as tutor to the Tsarevich, and after the arrest of the Emperor and his Family, he followed them to Tobolsk without a thought for his own safety.

Mr. Gibbes knew the Emperor and the Empress intimately during these days of sorrow, and his deposition shows that the Tsar was genuinely affected by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the subsequent Red Ruin of Russia. These recollections are absolutely unbiased, and there is no reason to doubt their accuracy.

On July 1, 1919, the Investigating Magistrate for Cases of Special Importance of the Omsk Tribunal, N. A. Sokolov, questioned the undermentioned in Ekaterinburg in conformity with Paragraph 443 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, in the capacity of a witness, and the witness stated:

My name is

SIDNEY IVANOVICH GIBBES.

Up to the year 1916 I was a visiting teacher of the English language to the Grand Duchesses and the Tsarevich. I began my lessons with the Grand Duchesses Olga Nikolaievna, Tatiana Nikolaievna and Maria Nikolaievna in 1908. When Anastasia grew up I gave her lessons also. I began the instruction of the Tsarevich in 1914, and in 1916 I was appointed tutor to the Tsarevich. The same year I took up my resi-

dence in the Palace. In 1917 the duties of tutor to the Tsarevich were performed partly by myself and partly by M. Gillard.

During the early part of the Revolution the Imperial Family resided in Tsarskoe-Selo. The Empress and all the children were there. The Emperor was at the Stavka. At the beginning of the Revolution the children were taken ill with the measles. The first to be attacked by the disease was the Tsarevich, and after him all the daughters had it in succession.

I do not know how the Empress received the news of the Revolution; I was told by some one who was with her at the time that she wept. From what I personally know of the Empress, my conviction is that she did not expect the Revolution. It seems to me that the Empress thought that only a few concessions ought to have been made. The Revolution was a great blow to her and she suffered, but owing to her self-control she did not display much outward emotion.

The Empress and the Imperial Family were arrested by General Kornilov. I was not present at the time of the arrest, so I cannot tell you what took place. I know that Kornilov was received by Her Majesty and told her that she must consider herself under arrest. The Empress herself told me, but she did not go into many details; she simply related all that had occurred in a general way, but she added that she received Kornilov coldly, and did not give him her hand to kiss. After Kornilov's announcement of the arrest I was not allowed to go into the Palace, and my requests for admittance always met with a refusal. The Provisional Government would not allow me to stay with the Imperial Family. I remember this distinctly as I saw the letter which stated this, and it bore the signature of five ministers. I do not remember their names, but I know that I saw the signatures of five ministers. I cannot tell you whether the answer bore the signature of the Minister of Public Education. Being an Englishman, I considered all these formalities extremely strange.

This is the reason why I was not permitted to be with the Imperial Family during their stay in Tsarskoe-Selo, and in consequence I did not see anything of their life during that period.

I heard later in Tobolsk, that some of the soldiers and officers in Tsarskoe-Selo behaved roughly to the Imperial Family. The Emperor himself told me that on one occasion an officer refused to shake hands with him, saying that he was on duty, and therefore he was not allowed to shake hands. The Emperor also mentioned Kerensky. He said that Kerensky was very nervous when he spoke to him. In fact, he was once so nervous that he took up an ivory paper-knife and began bending it about so much, that the Emperor was afraid he would break the knife, and took it away from him. The Emperor also told me that Kerensky believed that he (the Emperor) wanted to make a separate peace with Germany. The Emperor denied that this was so, but Kerensky insisted upon believing the contrary. I cannot say whether the private papers of the Emperor were searched by Kerensky or not, but the Emperor said that Kerensky believed he had certain papers which indicated his desire to make peace with Germany. I knew the Emperor well, and I quite understand the feelings of disdain which he must have had for Kerensky.

Kerensky was very nervous on the day of departure of the Imperial Family from Tsarskoe-Selo. During the night he telephoned to the Minister of Communication, and told him to come to Tsarskoe-Selo at once. The Minister of Communication was in bed at the time, but this did not weigh with Kerensky in the least.

I cannot tell you anything else about the life of the Imperial Family at Tsarskoe-Selo. As I was devoted to the Family and wanted to be near them, I went to Tobolsk of my own free will, and I arrived there in the beginning of October. From Tiumen I travelled with Klavdia Mikhailovna Bitner.

For two days I lived in Kornilov's house. On the third day I was sent for by the Emperor. He received me in his working room. The Empress and the Tsarevich were also present. I was very glad to see them, and they were very glad to see me. At this time the Empress had begun to realize that some of the people who were supposed to be devoted to her were not so any longer!

Our stay in Tobolsk was, on the whole, very agreeable. I did not see anything objectionable in the conditions of our life. Certainly there were some disadvantages compared with what it had been; and there were many trifles which created friction, but one soon became used to them.

We all worked very hard. The Empress taught theology to the children (all the children took lessons except Olga Nikolaievna, who had completed her studies in 1914). She also taught Tatiana Nikolaievna a little German. The Emperor gave history lessons to the Tsarevich. Klavdia Mikhailovna Bitner gave instruction in mathematics and the Russian language to the Grand Duchesses Maria and Anastasia, and also to the Tsarevich. Hendrykova gave history lessons to Tatiana Nikolaievna. I taught them English.

Lessons were given from 9 a.m. to eleven o'clock. From eleven to twelve o'clock the children were allowed to take a walk. Studies were resumed at twelve and continued for an hour. At 1 p.m. lunch was served, and after that, coffee was served. According to the doctor's orders the Tsarevich had to rest on the sofa after lunch. Whilst he was lying down Gillard and I used to read aloud to him. After this Nagorny dressed the Tsarevich, and we went for a walk until four or five o'clock. After we returned the Emperor gave the Tsarevich his history lesson, and then the Tsarevich usually liked to play one particular game called 'The slower you ride the further you go.' We divided into two sides to play this game. The Tsarevich, Gillard or myself were on one side, Dolgoruky

and Schneider on the other. The Tsarevich was extremely fond of the game, and Schneider used to put all her heart into it, but she occasionally quarrelled with Dolgoruky. This was really funny. We played the game nearly every day, and Schneider always used to say that she would never play again.

From 6 to 7 p.m. the Tsarevich took lessons with me or with Gillard. From 7 to 8 p.m. he prepared his lessons for the next day. Dinner was served at 8 p.m. After dinner the Family assembled upstairs. Sometimes we played cards, and I often played double patience with Schneider. Tatishchev, Olga Nikolaievna, Dr. Botkin, Schneider, Gillard, and Dolgoruky played bridge. The children and the Emperor occasionally played bezique. The Emperor often read aloud.

Sometimes the Grand Duchesses Olga, Maria and Anastasia would go up to Demidova's room, where Toutelberg, Ergberg and Tegleva had their meals. Occasionally Gillard, Dolgoruky, the Tsarevich or myself accompanied them. We always stayed some considerable time in this room, where we indulged in plenty of fun and laughter, and thoroughly enjoyed ourselves.

The Emperor rose early. At 9 a.m. he had tea in his working room, and then he read until 11 a.m. He then took a walk in the garden, and during the walk he always went in for some kind of physical exercise. In Tobolsk he frequently used to saw logs. With some outside assistance, the Emperor built a platform on the roof of the orangery, and a staircase, constructed by our united efforts, led up to the platform. The Emperor liked to sit on this platform when the weather was stormy. The Emperor usually stopped out of doors until noon, when he came in and went to his daughter's room, where sandwiches were served. Later he retired to his own quarters, and worked until it was time for lunch. After lunch the Emperor walked or worked in the garden till dusk. At

5 p.m. the Family had tea, after which the Emperor used to read until supper time.

The Empress got up at different times, sometimes much later than others, but she was often ready at the same time as everybody else. She was never seen by strangers in the morning. There were times when the Empress only appeared at lunch. In the morning she worked or occupied herself with her children. She liked fancy work: embroidery or painting, and when there was nobody in the house, and she was left alone, she liked to play the piano.

Lunch and dinner were good. For lunch we used to have soup, fish, meat and dessert. Coffee was served upstairs. The dinner was similar to the lunch, with the difference that more fruit was served with it.

If the Emperor was present at dinner we used to sit in the following order: The Emperor sat in the middle of the table, the Empress opposite him, Hendrykova sat at the Emperor's right, and next to her sat the Grand Duchess Maria. At the Emperor's left sat Schneider and Dolgoruky. The Tsarevich sat at the Empress's right, at her left were Tatishchev and the Grand Duchess Tatiana. Gillard was seated at the end of the table, and opposite him were the Grand Duchess Anastasia and myself. If the Empress dined upstairs her place was taken by the Grand Duchess Olga.

Botkin always dined with the Imperial Family, but he lunched with his own family. He usually sat between the Grand Duchess Olga and the Tsarevich. On Holy Days, Dr. Derevenko and his own son, Kolia, were invited to dinner. Dinner was cooked by Haritonov. The food was good, and there was plenty of everything.

Besides dinner and lunch, tea was served twice daily.

In the morning the Emperor took tea with the Grand Duchess Olga in his working room. Tea was always served in the

Emperor's working room in the evening, when only the Family were present.

At the time of my arrival in Tobolsk, there were two Commissars, Pankratov and Nikolsky; Pankratov was not a bad sort of fellow, but he was weak, and did not cause us any uneasiness. The Emperor used to talk to him, and Pankratov told him many interesting things about Siberia, where he had lived in exile, but the Emperor referred to Pankratov in rather a sarcastic manner, and always called him 'The little man' (he was rather small in stature). Nikolsky was uncouth, and the Family did not like him. I do not remember if Nikolsky was ever discourteous, or if the Tsarevich was known to have cried on account of his rudeness. During the Bolshevik period no Commissars were allowed to our house. I believe that some Commissars arrived in Tobolsk, but they were not recognized by the soldiers. Yakovlev was the first Commissar to enter the house.

The Bolshevist Revolution at first passed unnoticed, and it looked as if we were completely forgotten. However, the Bolsheviks suddenly remembered us, and our allowance was stopped. We were given a soldier's ration and ordered to limit our necessities to 150 roubles per week. Several servants were discharged, and we began to get inferior food. Only two courses of soup and meat were now served.

I did not speak to the Emperor about the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, but I noticed that he appeared to suffer greatly after the Bolshevist Revolution. The Emperor abdicated because he thought it would be better for Russia. It turned out to be worse. He did not expect this, and he suffered dreadful remorse on account of his action. After we received the news that the state of affairs in Russia was so bad, I saw the Emperor looked very much upset, and he was silent for a long time. His own situation did not appear to disturb him, and he endured it without repining.

Yakovlev arrived in Tobolsk in the beginning of April, at the time of the Tsarevich's illness. I was sitting by the Tsarevich's bed, when the Emperor, accompanied by Yakovlev and another man, entered the room. Yakovlev looked at the Tsarevich. The Emperor said : ' This is my son, and this gentleman is his tutor.'

Yakovlev did not appear to be a man of culture. He looked more like a sailor. I do not remember what the other man was like. Yakovlev gazed attentively at the Tsarevich, and afterwards left the house. The Emperor and Yakovlev then returned without the third man. They looked at the Tsarevich, but said nothing. A few days later I was again in the Tsarevich's bedroom : he was very ill and suffered a great deal. The Empress had promised to come and see him after lunch, and he waited and waited, but no one came. As he kept calling, ' Mamma, Mamma,' I went out of the room hoping to see the Empress, and I noticed the Emperor, the Empress and Yakovlev, who were standing in the middle of the hall, but I did not hear what they were talking about. I returned to the Tsarevich's room. He began to cry and asked, ' Where is Mamma ? ' So I left the room once more. I was told that the Empress was very anxious about something, and this was the reason why she had not been to see the Tsarevich. I was also told that she was greatly alarmed because the Emperor was to be taken away from Tobolsk. I then returned to the bedroom. Between four and five o'clock the Empress came in. She was quite calm, but her face showed traces of tears. As she was afraid of disturbing the Tsarevich, she began to tell me in an undertone that the Emperor had been ordered to leave Tobolsk, and that she and the Grand Duchess Maria were to go with him, and that as soon as the Tsarevich was better he and the rest would follow them. The Tsarevich heard what she said, but he did not ask her where we were going, and wishing to avoid any

further embarrassment I did not ask her either. Soon afterwards I left the room, as I thought that during the time they were preparing for the journey, they most probably would not care for the presence of strangers. That night they dined upstairs alone.

In the evening we were all invited to the Empress's boudoir (the green room), where tea was served. The conversation turned mostly on travelling, and at two o'clock the carriages arrived; only one of them had a hood. I wished the Family good-bye in the hall. The Emperor seated himself beside Yakovlev; the Empress and the Grand Duchess Maria were together. They were accompanied by Dr Botkin, Chemodurov, Dolgoruky, Demidova and Sednev. We did not know the place of their destination. None of us had any idea that they were to be taken to Ekaterinburg. We all thought they were going to Moscow or to the East. The children shared the same opinion. We were all very anxious. We did not know what was going to happen to them. Tatishchev was now the senior member of our party, and Tatiana was now looked upon as the head of the Family in the place of the Grand Duchess Olga.

The Tsarevich was gradually recovering, although very slowly. The first news of the travellers was brought us by the isvoshchik, who drove one of the carriages.

He told us that the Family had reached Tiumen safely. Later, somebody sent a wire to say that they were 'Held up' at Ekaterinburg. We were all stricken by this news.

Yakovlev had told us nothing about Ekaterinburg, and I heard some one say that Yakovlev himself had been sent from Moscow, and not from Ekaterinburg, and I don't think there is any doubt whatever about this.

After this Hohriakov came to the house. It appeared that this man had spent some considerable time in Tobolsk, but we had never seen him in the house before. We thought

he had been sent by Yakovlev. When he arrived he asked to see the Tsarevich, as possibly he did not believe in his illness. After he had left him he came back again, probably expecting that the Tsarevich would get up after his first visit. About three days before we left Tobolsk our guards were replaced by a detachment of Reds. The detachment was under the command of a certain Rodionov, who did not impress me unfavourably. We were all very much interested in him, as Tatishchev had met him before, but could not remember who Rodionov was, or where he had seen him. Hendrykova also knew him. Tatishchev thought that he had seen Rodionov in Berlin, and Hendrykova believed that she had seen him in Vershbolovo. Tatishchev had formerly been attached to the Emperor Wilhelm's entourage and he thought that he had seen Rodonov in the Russian Embassy in Berlin. Tatishchev once asked him what had been his profession and Rodionov, not wishing to give a definite reply, answered: 'I have forgotten.' When speaking of Rodionov, Tatishchev used to describe him as 'My acquaintance.' I remember that in 1916, when I was in Petrograd, I happened to visit an acquaintance of mine by the name of Ditveiler who was, I believe, a Jew and a Russian subject. He used to work in a rope factory. During one of our conversations I asked him what he had been doing lately, and he told me that he had spent most of his time with certain people. I then questioned Ditveiler about the identity of one man, and Ditveiler answered: 'Probably he is a German spy,' and he added that an officer by the name of Rodionov was present at one of their meetings. So his name was also familiar to me.

Rodionov did not allow us to lock the doors of our bedrooms at night.

We left for Tiumen by steamer. A few days before our departure Hohriakov told us that he did not know whether we should be allowed to stay in the house in Ekaterinburg which

was occupied by the Emperor, the Empress and the Grand Duchess Maria. Rodionov informed us that from now things were going to be much worse for us than they had been. From Tiumen the children, Hendrykova, Schneider, Tatishchev, Buxhoevden, Nagorny and Volkov travelled in a passenger compartment, but the rest of us were obliged to sit in a goods van (*teploushka*). We arrived at Ekaterinburg during the night of May 9 (22). It was very cold. The whole night we were moving about on different sidings. At 7 a.m. our compartments were taken out of the town. Some isvoshchiks were waiting, and although I watched the departure of the children, I was not allowed to wish them good-bye. At ten o'clock we were moved up alongside a platform and Tatishchev and Schneider were removed from the train. I cannot say what became of Hendrykova. After this Rodionov announced that little Sednev and Trupp must proceed to the house. Nagorny came later and took away some of the luggage and the children's beds. These beds, which were all alike, were made of iron, similar to the bed used by the Emperor Alexander II during the Turkish war. The beds were comfortable and light. After Nagorny's departure, Rodionov said to us: 'You are free and you can go wherever you like.'

I stayed in Ekaterinburg. Two or three days later I was walking with Derevenko and Gillard on the Vosnesensky Prospekt when we suddenly noticed that Nagorny and Sednev, surrounded by soldiers, were leaving Ipatiev's house, on two isvoshchiks. We followed them and saw that they were taken to prison.

Some considerable time elapsed before the former Prime Minister, Prince George Evgenievich Lvov (who was in prison in Ekaterinburg with Nagorny), told me that Nagorny often had disputes with the Bolsheviks on account of their bad treatment of the Tsarevich. The Bolsheviks only allowed the Tsarevich to keep one pair of boots. Nagorny insisted upon

two pairs of shoes being left, and told the Bolsheviks that the boy was delicate and, if he were to get his feet wet, he would badly need another pair of shoes. Some time later the Bolsheviks took away a long gold chain by which the Holy Images hung from the Tsarevich's bedside. Nagorny had several arguments with the Bosheviks: 'So I quite understand why he was shot,' added Prince Lvov.

After the Bolsheviks left Ekaterinburg, Chemodurov came to see me. His first words were: 'Thank God, the children are safe.' I did not understand him. But afterwards in the course of conversation he suddenly asked me: 'Do you think they *are* saved?' About ten days before his death he sent me a letter asking if there were any hopes of them being alive.

Chemodurov said that the conditions of life in Ekaterinburg were very bad. It seems that when the Family had special Easter cake, the Commissar cut himself big lumps without asking permission, and Chemodurov also mentioned rough treatment; but it was very difficult for me to understand him, as he wandered a little in his mind, but he distinctly told me that the Grand Duchesses had no beds.

I have visited Ipatiev's house, but I found nothing out of the ordinary. The house was very much battered. The stoves were full of charred objects, such as portrait frames, all kinds of brushes, and a little basket in which the Tsarevich used to keep his hairbrushes. A few things were scattered about, but I did not see many personal belongings.

The Emperor used to wear khaki trousers, a soldier's shirt and high boots, which had been often patched. The Tsarevich also wore khaki trousers, a soldier's shirt and high boots.

With regard to the rubies which you have shown me, I know that the Imperial Family had quite a number of rubies in their various articles of jewellery. The Grand Duchess Olga had a ruby brooch which had been given her by the late Queen Victoria.

The sapphires look very much like fragments of the large stone which the Emperor wore in a ring. It was shaped in much the same way as these pieces, and I think there is a complete resemblance between them and the large stone. The Emperor wore this ring on his wedding finger, and he told me that he could not take it off.

My personal recollections of the Imperial Family are as follows :—

The Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaievna was about twenty-three years of age; she was fair and had the lightest hair of the Family. After her illness she got much thinner. She had beautiful blue eyes, and her soul could be seen in her eyes. She was innocent, honest, simple, sincere and kind, but she was easily irritated and her manners were a little brusque. She was a good musician, and she had a real talent for music. The Grand Duchess Olga was very modest. She liked simplicity, and did not pay much attention to dress; her moral outlook reminded me of that of her father. She was very religious, and I think she loved her father better than anyone else.

The Grand Duchess Tatiana Nikolaievna was very thin. You could hardly meet anybody as thin as she was. She was twenty-one years of age, tall, elegant, and of darker complexion than the rest of the Family. Her eyes were dark grey in colour, and her expression was different from that of her sisters, who showed their candid souls in their eyes. Tatiana did not; she was reserved, haughty, and not open-hearted, but she had the most decided opinions of the Family. She, too, was religious, but the motive of her religion was *duty*; Olga Nikolaievna had the love of religion in her heart. Tatiana was always preoccupied and pensive, and it was impossible to guess her thoughts. She played the piano better than any one of the Family, as she had a better technique, but she did not show any feeling when she played. She also painted and

embroidered well. She was her mother's favourite, and the one in whom the Empress reposed most confidence; I think the Empress preferred Tatiana to her other daughters. If any favours were required they could only be obtained through Tatiana Nikolaievna. The Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaievna was a broadly-built girl; she was very strong, and could easily lift me up from the ground. Her hair was lighter than Tatiana's, but darker than Olga's (Olga Nikolaievna had golden-brown hair, and Maria Nikolaievna had light-brown hair). She had nice, light-grey eyes, and she was very good-looking, but she became very thin after her illness. She had a great talent for painting, and she was very fond of drawing. She played the piano fairly well, but she was not such a good musician as Olga or Tatiana. She was modest and simple, and probably would have made an excellent wife and mother. She was fond of children, but she was a little inclined to be lazy. She liked Tobolsk and told me that she could make herself quite happy there. It is difficult for me to tell you whom she most loved—her father or her mother.

The Grand Duchess Anastasia Nikolaievna was sixteen or seventeen years old; she was short and stout, and in my opinion, she was the only ungraceful member of the Family. Her hair was of a lighter shade than that of Maria Nikolaievna, but it was not soft, and lay flat on her forehead. Her eyes were grey and beautiful, and her nose was straight. If she had been taller and slimmer she would have been the prettiest of the Family. She was refined and very witty. She had all the talents of a comedian, and she made everybody laugh, but she never laughed herself. It seemed as if her mental development had been suddenly arrested, and although she played the piano and painted, she was only in the first stage of both accomplishments.

The Tsarevich, Alexis Nikolaievich, was not a healthy boy. He was tall for his age and very thin. He had suffered

greatly in his childhood, from a disease inherited from his mother's family. He became worse in Tobolsk, as it was difficult to obtain the proper means to effect a cure. The Tsarevich had a kind heart and was very fond of animals, but he could be only influenced through his emotions, and he rarely did as he was told. He only obeyed the Emperor. He was a clever boy but he was not fond of books. His mother loved him passionately. She tried to be strict, but she could not be firm with him, and most of his wishes were obtained through his mother. He bore unpleasant things silently, without grumbling. He was very kind-hearted, and during the last days at Tobolsk he was the only one of the Family who made any presents. In Tobolsk, he had some odd fancies —for instance, he used to collect old nails, saying: 'They may be useful.'

The Grand Duchesses spoke English and French well, but German badly. Alexis Nikolaievich did not speak German at all—he never had any German lessons. His father spoke Russian to him, his mother English or French.

The Empress used to be very good-looking and graceful, but her feet were large. I was quite surprised when I saw her again in Tobolsk, as she looked much older and had many grey hairs. She had wonderful soft grey eyes. She was clever, but she always seemed most clever to those who knew her least. She was not haughty in the ordinary sense of the word, but she never for a moment forgot her position. She looked queenly, but I was always at ease in her presence, and I liked to be with her. She was kind-hearted and used to perform many kind actions. She was extremely fond of homely secrets, and she liked to prepare a surprise for somebody and then keep it a secret until it was ready. She had many German characteristics, and she was more economical than an English woman. She loved Russia and considered herself a Russian. The thing which she most dreaded was losing Russia. Al-

though the Empress had often visited Germany during the Emperor's reign, I never heard her say a single word about the Emperor Wilhelm. She was genuinely religious in the Orthodox way, and she was a true believer in God. She was most devoted to her Family, but religion was uppermost to her heart.

Her religious feelings were quite normal, and not the product of hysteria. She had a stronger and more aggressive character than the Emperor, but she had such a deep love for him that she always shared his opinions and never opposed his views. I never witnessed a single quarrel between them. It was obvious that she was much opposed to his abdication, but she never reproached him. And it was impossible to think of her as being unfaithful to the Emperor. They were an ideal couple and they were rarely separated. The Emperor often took Alexis Nikolaievich with him on his trips. I suppose the Tsarevich in a way served as a substitute for the rest of his Family.

The Emperor was very well educated. He spoke (and wrote) English and French to perfection. I cannot speak as to his knowledge of German. He was very methodical in his habits, and he could not bear anybody to touch his things. He had an exceptionally good memory, but he did not care much for light reading; he read many works dealing with social questions and he was a keen student of history. He gave me the impression of being an extremely honest man. The Emperor was very kind, and he had a compassionate heart. He was slightly reserved, and disliked any kind of familiarity. His disposition was cheerful, and he was fond of games. He was also fond of conversation and sometimes chatted with the soldiers. He loved his country devotedly, and he suffered greatly during the Revolution. After the Bolshevik Revolution, we all felt that his sufferings were not due to his own dangerous situation, but that he suffered with and for Russia.

The Emperor was a fine sportsman, and he was fond of the chase.

The aides-de-camp who were most closely attached to the Family were Dmitri Pavlovich (the Grand Duke Dmitri), Mordvinov and Sablin. The Empress was very fond of Anna Alexandrovna Vyrubova and Julia Dehn.

With regard to Rasputin, the Empress believed in his holiness and his power of healing, and she also believed in the efficacy of his prayers. Rasputin did not visit the Palace as frequently as has been reported, and his visits were principally due to the illness of the Tsarevich. I looked upon Rasputin merely as a clever, cunning, and good-natured muzhik (peasant).

I have nothing to add to the above statement. My statement has been read to me, and it is correct.

(*Signed*) S. I. GIBBES.
(*Signed*) N. SOKOLOV.

Part II

(B.)—EKATERINBURG

APRIL 17 (30) TO JULY 4 (17), 1918

THE EXAMINATION OF ANATOLY YAKIMOV

ANATOLY YAKIMOV, whose deposition is now given, was a workman, who became one of the Senior Guards of the Imperial Family during their last days in Ekaterinburg. His statement bears the impress of truth, and one gathers from it that he possessed some education, and was more enlightened and tolerant in his views than were his fellows. Although Yakimov never spoke to any of the members of the Imperial Family, we are able to see them vividly by his crude descriptions of their daily life. This workman-guard denies that he was present at the actual execution, but he insists that he and the others to whom it was related were convinced that the Tsar and his family met their deaths in the manner described by Medvedev.

It is curious to notice the respect with which this peasant-workman always mentioned the Imperial Family. Avdeiev, so he says, referred to the Imperial Family as 'They,' and Yakimov follows his example, but it is apparent that this implies no disrespect on his part.

In 1919, from May 7 to 11, the Investigating Magistrate for Important Cases of the Omsk Tribunal sitting in the town of Ekaterinburg, examined (with the application of articles 403–409 of the Code of Criminal Procedure) Anatoly Alexandrovich

Yakimov, a peasant, aged 31 years, married, and a member of the Orthodox Church.

The accused deposed as follows :—

I am a workman, and my speciality is work on milling machines ; my father was also a workman. He was born in the Ugovsk Factory of the Perm District. My mother's name was Maria Nikolaievna. I am her eldest son.

At the time of my birth my father worked at the Motoviliha Works. At the age of eight, I began my studies in a school attached to the ecclesiastical seminary. I went to school for three years. I was twelve years old when my father died. My mother then sent me to the public school, but having passed the third grade, I left school, as we had no money to live on and at the same time I was not ambitious enough to study. As I wanted to get some occupation my mother sent me to the Motoviliha Works, where I was accepted as a bell boy in the drafting room. When I was sixteen I was transferred to the machine shop and began to learn to work the milling machines. In 1906 I married the daughter of a workman of the Motoviliha Factory. In 1916 I volunteered in the army and enlisted in the 494th Vereisky Regiment of the 124th Division. Our regiment was engaged on the Roumanian Front. I took part in several battles, but I was never wounded. In July, 1917, after the Revolution, I was elected on the committee of the regiment. You ask me the reason why I was chosen? I believe I was chosen to be a member of the regiment's committee because I was better educated than the rest of the soldiers. I never joined any of the political parties, but my sympathies were with the Social Democrats.

At the beginning of November, 1917, I obtained a position in Zlokazov's Factory in Ekaterinburg. The factory was still in the hands of its owners, the Zlokazovs, but a committee of workmen existed and there was also a Commissar of the factory. The position of Commissar was taken by Alexander Dmitriev

Avdeiev, a locksmith by trade. Avdeiev was aged about thirty-four or thirty-five, he was taller than the average, and his face was thin and pale.

In December Avdeiev imprisoned the owner of the factory, Nicholas Feodorovich Zlokazov. The actual owners of the factory were dispossessed and their places taken by an 'Executive' Soviet. This Soviet started to rule the factory, with Avdeiev as its head. The following workmen were next in importance to him: The brothers Ivan, Vasily and Vladimir Loginov and Sergius Ivanov Luhanov and his son Valentine. The Loginovs came from the Kishtym Works of the Ekaterinburg District. Those people, who were closely associated with Avdeiev, occupied the principal positions, were either members of the Factory Committee and Executive Soviet or had some other 'easy' jobs. Alexander Mikhailov Moshkin was also on good terms with Avdeiev. As far as I remember he (Moshkin) was born in Semipalatinsk. He was aged twenty-seven or twenty-eight, and in appearance he was short and sturdy looking. He was a locksmith. In April it became known in the town that the Tsar had been brought to Ekaterinburg. This, the workmen said, was quite necessary, as certain people wanted to abduct the Tsar from Tobolsk, and in order to prevent this they had been obliged to transfer him to a safe place like Ekaterinburg. Such was the talk amongst the workmen. In the first days of May, shortly after we heard of the arrival of the Tsar, we learned that Avdeiev had been appointed to take charge of the house occupied by the Tsar. At that time, for some reason, this house was called 'The House of Special Purpose.' It was said also that Avdeiev had been given absolute authority over the inmates of the house.

Shortly afterwards Avdeiev confirmed this news to us at a meeting. I cannot explain the reason for his appointment. Avdeiev was a real Bolshevik. He considered that the best life in the world was that taught by Bolshevism. On many

occasions he said openly that the Bolsheviks had destroyed the rich bourgeois class and had taken all power away from Nicholas the 'Sanguinary.' He always associated with the leaders of the Local Soviet. I believe that because he was a violent Bolshevik he was appointed by the Local Soviet to be commandant at the house of 'Special Purpose.' During the meeting Avdeiev told us that he and Yakovlev brought the Tsar from Tobolsk. Personally I do not know who this Yakovlev was, but Avdeiev told us at the meeting that he was a workman from the town of Zlatoust. Avdeiev also said that Yakovlev wanted to take the Tsar out of Russia, and therefore took him to Omsk. But somehow the Ekaterinburg Bolsheviks had got wind of his intentions and had notified Omsk. Avdeiev lost control of himself when he spoke of the Tsar. He vilified him as much as he possibly could, and even called him 'The Blood Drinker.' War was the chief subject of his denunciation; he declared that the Tsar wanted the war and for three years had spilled the blood of the 'workmen,' and he also said that during the war a great number of strikers had been shot. In general he talked about the things which were always talked about by the Bolsheviks. It could be easily gathered from what he said that because he had not allowed Yakovlev to take away the Tsar, he had been appointed Commandant of the 'House of Special Purpose.' It was evident that Avdeiev was very proud of his appointment, as when he addressed us at the meeting he promised the workmen to show them the Tsar, saying, 'I will take you all to the house and then I will show you the Tsar.'

Judging by Avdeiev's words at the time when he was appointed commandant of the 'House of Special Purpose,' the guards of this house consisted of Magyars. Avdeiev spoke definitely about this and said he intended to replace the Magyars by Russians. He specially mentioned *Magyar guards* and no others. Avdeiev kept his word to 'show the Tsar to the

workmen.' Workmen used to visit the house, but only those chosen by Avdeiev. He used to choose men who were friendly with him and who did not perform guard duty in the 'House of Special Purpose,' but who only 'assisted' Avdeiev. These men never came to the house all together, but in ones or twos. They did not remain in the house long, but only for a day or two. I think that their main ambition was money. For being at the house they received a special salary of four hundred roubles a month, excluding an allowance for rations. They also were paid salaries at the factory, as members of the Factory Soviet. These workmen derived many advantages from their association with Avdeiev.

On May 30 our Factory Committee received a letter from Ukraintzev (the same Ukraintzev who was previously one of our workmen, but who was now the Chief of the Central Staff of the Red Army), wherein it was requested to detail ten men to perform guard duty in the 'House of Special Purpose.' I was selected as one of their number.

When we arrived at Ipatiev's house the Magyar guard had already left. The guards that were there were workmen from the Sissert's Factory, and workmen from the Makarov's Factory, the Isset Works and the Mint. After our arrival the Sissert workmen remained, but the others left. Together with the Sissert workmen we took up our quarters in the lower room of Ipatiev's house. One could enter the upper floor from the hall.

At the time of our arrival at Ipatiev's house we had no special leader, the parties were divided into Zlokazov or Sissert workmen. During the first week I was the senior guard of the Zlokazov workmen. The senior guards of the Sissert workmen were Medvedev and anotherman. Medvedev appeared to be a leading man amongst the Sissert workmen, and he always gave them their orders and always answered any questions which were addressed to him, but nevertheless he had no definite power. Previous to this Nikiforov had occupied his position,

but he had been taken ill and had left, to be relieved by Medvedev. Such was the state of affairs during the first days after our arrival at Ipatiev's house. About a week later this was changed: we guards were transferred to Popov's house, and Medvedev became 'Chief of All of Us.' Three senior guards were elected whose duties consisted in changing the guard. I was one of them as well as Benjamin Safonov and Constantine Dobrynin. Shortly before the murder Safonov became ill and he was relieved by Ivan Starkov. Therefore until the time of the murder of the Imperial Family, the senior guards were: Ivan Starkov, Constantine Dobrynin, and myself.

The following were the duties of the senior guard: We were eight hours on duty: from six a.m. till two p.m.; from two p.m. till ten p.m.; and from ten p.m. till six a.m. When on duty we changed the guards, and now and then inspected the sentries. We were also obliged to stay in the commandant's room and meet all visitors to the house, the arrival of whom was notified to us by a bell rung by the sentry.

At the time of our arrival at Ipatiev's house there were altogether ten posts, which were located as follows:—

Post number one was situated in the first room of the upper floor adjoining the hall.

Post number two was in the corridor that led to the bathroom and lavatory.

Post number three was situated in the courtyard, which faced the street by the fence gate. This gate was always closed and had a little window made to enable the sentry to see who came to the gate.

When we arrived at Ipatiev's house, the house was already surrounded by two fences. The first fence was very close to the wall of the house. It began from the side of the Vosnesensky Lane, right from the wall of the house and separated the house from the Vosnesensky Lane, turning at an angle at the place where the Lane crossed the Vosnesensky Prospekt;

after that it separated the house from the Vosnesensky Pros-'pekt and finished near the entrance leading to the upper part of the house. In this way the fence made a little courtyard in front of the house which could only be entered from the main entrance facing the Vosnesensky Lane. In this courtyard, near the intersection of Vosnesensky Lane and Vosnesensky Prospekt, stood an old sentry-box.

The second fence also began from the direction of the Vosnesensky Lane. It began at the first fence but continued further, turning at an angle and separating the house from the Vosnesensky Prospekt. It skirted the gate, and finally joined the wall of the house on the side that faced Vosnesensky Prospekt. In this manner the second fence covered the main entrance of the upper floor of the house, as well as the gate and the wicket. This second fence had two gates—one facing the Vosnesensky Lane, the second in the opposite side of the fence, close to the gate of the house.

Both gates were shut from the inside of the fence.

At the time we began to perform guard duty, there was only one gate which was near to the entrance of the house, the gates that faced Vosnesensky Lane did not yet exist. They were built when we were there, as it was found that automobiles had great difficulty in leaving through the first entrance on account of the steep hill. This was the reason why the gates facing the Vosnesensky Lane were constructed. The motor-cars entered through both gates, but left by the gate facing the Vosnesensky Lane.

The fence close to the gate, which was built before our arrival, had a wicket with a little window in it.

Sentry-boxes were constructed on both angles of the exterior fence.

Post number four was situated outside the outer fence by the wicket of the gates which were first constructed.

Post number five was situated by the sentry-box, close to

those gates, and was placed in such a way as to enable the sentry to observe the whole Vosnesensky Prospekt.

Post number six was situated at the other sentry-box, which was outside the fence at the intersection of Vosnesensky Lane and Vosnesensky Prospekt just by the chapel.

Post number seven was situated by the old sentry-box in the outer yard, between the walls of the house and the first fence.

Post number eight was in the garden. The sentry had to walk round the whole garden.

Post number nine was on the terrace where a machine-gun was mounted.

Post number ten was situated in a room on the lower floor.

At the time when we arrived at Ipatiev's house there were altogether ten posts.

At our request we were transferred to Popov's house. The Sissert workmen were especially insistent upon it. The houses were far away from the town, so they were visited by their wives, but no strangers were allowed to stay in Ipatiev's house—the wives could not stop there. For this particular reason we were all transferred to Popov's house.

Up to the second half of June we—Zlokazov's and Sissert's workmen—performed guard duty on all the ten posts. From the second part of June a certain change took place. The reason for this was because a feeling of discontent towards Avdeiev had arisen amongst Zlokazov's workmen, and he was dismissed from his position of Commissar to the factory. He still remained Commandant of Ipatiev's house, but his following were dismissed from all the positions which they occupied. After that, Avdeiev took them all with him to Ipatiev's house. These persons were the three brothers Loginov, Mishkevich, Soloviev, Gonchkevich, Koriakin, Kracheninnikov, Sidorov, Ukraintzev, Komendantov, Labushev, Valentine Luhanov and Skorohodov, and all of them (with the exception of Skoro-

hodov, who fell ill and was removed to an hospital) took up their places in the Commandant's room and the hall.

From the date of their arrival at Ipatiev's house they began to perform duty on posts one and two. They were quartered in the Commandant's room and the hall, and they slept on the floor, for which purpose they were given two or three mattresses from the store-room.

In this way we performed our duty up to the first day of July, or approximately, up to the third or fourth of July, the time when Avdeiev, Moshkin and the others were finally dismissed.

This happened in the following way :—

Avdeiev was a drunkard. He liked drinking and he never missed an opportunity of drinking. He drank a sort of yeast paste which he obtained at the Zlokazov Factory. He and his followers drank in Ipatiev's house, and no sooner did the latter move to the Ipatiev house than they began stealing the Emperor's belongings. They often used to take various things out of the store-room in sacks or bags. The bags were removed by motor-car, or on horseback, to their houses or flats. The fact of these thefts soon became the subject of conversation. Our guards also began to mention the stealing which was going on, and Paul Medvedev constantly spoke about it. It was also discussed in the Zlokazov Factory, and the thieves were pointed out as Avdeiev and Luhanov. This was certainly correct, as Avdeiev and his gang got themselves in touch with the workmen at the time when they were in the factory. Even at this time all of them stuck to their easy jobs in the Committee of Business Soviet, and money and drink were plentiful. They continued this behaviour after they went to the Ipatiev house.

About July 3 or 4, at the time when I was on duty, Avdeiev left the house. I suppose he was summoned by telephone to the District Soviet. Shortly afterwards Moshkin also left. I know now that he went to the District Soviet, where he also

was summoned by phone. Vasily Loginov took the place of Avdeiev. Some time after Avdeiev and Moshkin had left, Beloborodov, Safarov, Yurovsky, Nikulin and two other men entered the house. Beloborodov asked us who had taken the place of Avdeiev. Vasily Loginov told him that he was acting in the place of Avdeiev. Beloborodov explained to us that Avdeiev was no longer a commandant and that he and Moshkin had been arrested. The reason for their arrest was not explained to us by Beloborodov. As far as I remember, the same thing was told by Beloborodov to Medvedev, who at this time also came from the Popov house. Beloborodov explained to us that Yurovsky was to be the new commandant and Nikulin his assistant. From this moment Yurovsky began to give orders in the capacity of a commandant, and Loginov and others of Avdeiev's party (I can't remember who of them, at this moment, were in the house) were told to leave instantly.

Beloborodov, Safarov, Nikulin, Yurovsky and two men unknown to me, visited all the rooms of the house ; they had been in those actually occupied by the Tsar and his family, but I did not accompany them. They did not stay long. I believe that Beloborodov informed ' Them ' of the appointment of Yurovsky and Nikulin. At that time Yurovsky questioned Medvedev about the man who performed guard duty on the first and second posts (inside the house). After he learned that those posts were in charge of special persons of Avdeiev's party, Yurovsky said, ' In the meantime you will have to perform duty on those posts; later I will request the Extraordinary Committee to send men to guard those posts.'

In a few days those men sent by the Extraordinary Investigation Committee arrived at the Ipatiev house. They were ten in number. Their baggage was brought on a horse. I could not tell where the horse or the coachman came from, but everybody knew that the men came from the Chresvychaika (the Institution of Secret Political Police) at the Hotel America.

I cannot explain the reason, but we used to call those men 'Letts.' But whether or no they were actually 'Letts,' nobody knew. It is quite possible that they were not Letts, but Magyars.

These men took up their quarters in the lower floor of the house, and had their meals in the Commandant's room. They occupied a privileged position, in comparison with the rest of us. I think it is right to say that we had three parties: the so-called Letts, and the Zlokazov and Sissert workmen. Yurovsky treated the Letts on an equality with himself. He treated Sissert's workmen a little better than us, and he treated us worse than any one. I think he looked upon us as mere workmen from the Zlokazov Factory who had been dismissed at the same time as Avdeiev. Medvedev also influenced his attitude towards us. He ingratiated himself in Yurovsky's good graces and those of Nikulin, and tried to make himself very affable. That is why special favour was shown to the Sissert workmen.

At the beginning, Yurovsky increased the number of posts. He mounted another machine-gun in the attic of the house and also established a post in the rear yard. This post was known as number ten, and the post by the machine-gun number eleven, and the post in the attic number twelve. All duties on posts one, two and twelve, after the arrival of Yurovsky, were performed exclusively by Letts.

You ask me why I volunteered to guard the Tsar? I did not see at that time that there was anything wrong in doing so. As I told you before, I had read various books. I had read Party pamphlets, and so I had an idea about the views of the different Parties. For example, I know the difference between the ideas of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks. The former believe that the peasants are a working class, but the latter consider them as bourgeoisie, and believe that only workmen are the real proletarians. My sympathies were

with the Bolsheviks, but I did not believe that the Bolsheviks could rebuild Russia by their methods of violence, which they call the 'good' and 'just' life. I believe that a 'good' and 'just' life will only exist when there are not as many rich and as many poor people as there are at present, and this will only come about when the population is sufficiently educated to understand that the life which they are leading at present is not the true one. I believed the Tsar to be one of the capitalists who always play into the hands of capital and not into those of the workmen. For this reason I did not want a Tsar, and I thought that it was right that he should be kept under guard, or at least imprisoned until such time when he would be judged by the nation, and when the nation should punish him according to his crimes, after having decided 'Was he guilty in the eyes of his people or *not*?' I thought the Tsar's imprisonment was necessary for the safety of the Revolution, but if I had known that he would have been killed in the way that he was, I would have never gone to guard him. I believe that he ought only to have been judged by the whole of Russia, as he was the Tsar of the entire Russian nation. All that happened I consider unjust and cruel. The murder of the rest of his family I consider still worse. For what reason were his children murdered? I must also state that I joined the guard as I wanted to earn money. At the time I was not in good health, and so I joined the guard because I thought it was an easy job.

In this way we guarded the Tsar Nicholas Alexandrovich and his family. They all lived in Ipatiev's house—by 'all' I mean the Tsar Nicholas Alexandrovich, his wife, Alexandra Feodorovna, his son Alexis and his daughters Olga, Tatiana, Maria and Anastasia.

The others who lived with them were Dr. Botkin, Demidova ('Freylina,' we used to call her), Haritonov, the cook, and Trupp, the waiter. The name of the waiter I remember distinctly because the names of all the people who lived in

Ipatiev's house were written on a list which was hung up in the Commandant's room.

Dr. Botkin was an old, stout, tall, grey-haired man. He usually wore a blue suit, a stiff shirt and tie, and he always wore shoes.

Demidova was a tall and stout blonde, aged from thirty to thirty-five ; she dressed herself very neatly, not at all like a servant, and her figure showed that she was very tightly laced.

The cook was aged about fifty ; he was a small, stalwart man with brown hair.

The waiter was aged about sixty ; he was tall and thin.

There also lived with the Imperial Family a boy, aged about fourteen, whose name I don't know. He was tall for his age, and his face was pale. He usually wore a dark grey jacket and a high collar.

I cannot tell you how the Imperial Family lived or how they spent their time. I never entered the rooms where they lived, and I could not see anything, as the door from the hall leading to their room was always kept shut.

Dinner was brought to the Imperial Family by some women from the Soviet dining-room situated at the junction of the Vosnesensky and Glavny Prospekts, in the place occupied now by the cinema and the Café Lorange. But, in Avdeiev's time, permission was given to them to have their dinner prepared in the house. For this purpose the provisions were brought from the District Soviet by some special messenger. Nuns also used to bring milk, eggs and bread from the convent. The only thing that I personally observed in the life of the Imperial Family was their singing. I heard them sometimes singing sacred songs ; I especially remember the 'Heruvimskaia' (Cherubim's) Song. But they sang also a secular song. I could not hear the words, but the tune was very sad. This was the tune of the song, 'A Man Died in a Soldiers' Hospital.' I never heard men's voices singing—only women's.

Divine service was performed in the house, but during the whole time I was there divine service was performed only three times. Twice the priest Storozhev officiated at the service, and once the priest Meledin. But there were services before our arrival. I know this because I had to get a priest to officiate at the service. The first time Avdeiev sent me to fetch a priest, and named the church from which the priest was to be asked. He did not tell me the name of the priest. In the church I learned that a priest named Meledin officiated. I wanted to get him, but at this time he was busy and would not come. After this I went in search of Storozhev, and I also sought him a second time. When I was looking for a priest I used to talk to the churchwarden, who stood near the candle box. I cannot tell you who he was. But once he asked me if he couldn't officiate instead of a priest, saying, 'I would like so much to see the Tsar.' In Avdeiev's time, when I was in the house, two services were held. During the time of Yurovsky, only one was held. I was never present at divine service. We were not allowed to go into the room, but Avdeiev and Yurovsky were present at the service. I heard men and women's voices during the service: probably they sung themselves. I have seen all the members of the Imperial Family, as well as all the people who lived with them.

I used to see them in the house when they passed by and went for a walk in the garden, as well as during the walk itself. They passed close to the Commandant's room and close to post number one when they went to the lavatory. They could also go to the 'toilet' room through the kitchen, but they never did. If the heir went with them, they used to go for their walk by the staircase which led down from the toilet room, and then through the lobby that led into the yard, and from the yard to the garden. If the heir went with them to take a walk, they went through the main entrance to the house to the street, then again through the gate (not the wicket) to

the yard, and from thence to the garden. The heir was ill and he was carried out to his wheeled chair, which was brought up to the main entrance. The Tsar used always to carry him. I have never seen the heir carried by anyone else.

Personally, I could not see the attitude of people towards the Emperor and his family, although I watched Avdeiev, who of course had to deal with them. Avdeiev was a rough and uncouth man. He was also a drunkard; his disposition was not kind. If on any occasion during the absence of Avdeiev any member of the Imperial Family asked a favour of Moshkin, he always said they would have to wait the return of Avdeiev. When Avdeiev returned and their request was mentioned, his answer was 'Let them go to hell.' Sometimes when Avdeiev returned from the Imperial Family's rooms, he used to say that they had asked him for something or other, but that he had refused. Apparently the process of refusal gave him much pleasure, as he always spoke about it and looked very happy. For example, I remember that he was once asked permission to open the windows, but he told us that he had forbidden it. I could not tell how he addressed the Tsar, but in the Commandant's room he referred to the Imperial Family as 'they' and he used to call the Tsar 'Nikolashka.' I have already told you that as soon as he got into the house he began to bring in his favourite workmen, who moved into the house altogether after being dismissed from the Committee and the Soviet. All these people had a merry time with Avdeiev in the Ipatiev house; they were often drunk, and they stole the Emperor's belongings. Once Avdeiev was so drunk that he fell down incapable in one of the lower rooms of the house, and at the same time Beloborodov arrived and asked for him. Some of Avdeiev's favourites lied to Beloborodov and told him that Avdeiev had gone out of the house. It appeared that he fell down drunk in the lower floor immediately after he had visited the Imperial Family, whom he

actually went to see in this state. The drunkards made a dreadful noise in the Commandant's room ; they shouted, they slept huddled up to one another, and their habits were very dirty. The songs they chose could not have been agreeable to the Tsar. They sang ' You Fell as a Victim in the Struggle,' ' Let us Forget the Old World,' ' Get Cheerfully in Step, Comrades.' Ukraintzev used to play the piano in the Commandant's room and accompany the singers. As Avdeiev was a Bolshevik and a harsh man, I believe that he treated the Imperial Family very badly. He could not have possibly treated them well, as it would be against his nature and behaviour. After I watched him in the Commandant's room, I believe he constantly insulted the Imperial Family. I also remember that Avdeiev talked to his friends about Rasputin. He said much the same that other people had said and which had been published in the newspapers.

Not once did I speak to the Tsar or to any of his family. I met them only occasionally, and we never spoke. I once heard the Tsar speak to Moshkin. They were in the garden. Moshkin was sitting on a bench in the garden. The Tsar approached and said something to him about the weather.

Although I never spoke when I met them, I have still an impression of them that will always remain in my soul. The Tsar was no longer young, his beard was getting grey. I have seen him wearing a ' gimnasterka ' (soldier's shirt), with an officer's belt fastened by a buckle round his waist. The buckle was yellow and the belt was yellow, not a light yellow, but a darker shade. The gimnasterka was khaki colour, the same colour as his trousers and his old worn-out boots. His eyes were kind and he had altogether a kind expression. I got the impression that he was a kind, simple, frank and talkative person. Sometimes I felt that he was going to speak to me. He looked as if he would like to talk to us.

The Tsaritza was not a bit like him. She was severe looking

and she had the appearance and manners of a haughty, grave woman. Sometimes we used to discuss them amongst ourselves, and we decided that Nicholas Alexandrovich was a modest man, but that she was different and looked exactly like a Tsaritza. She seemed older than the Tsar. Grey hair was plainly visible on her temples and her face was not the face of a young woman. He looked much younger when you saw them together. I positively cannot describe the way she used to dress.

Tatiana was like the Tsaritza. She had the same serious and haughty look as her mother. The other daughters, Olga, Maria and Anastasia, had no haughtiness about them. One had the impression that they were modest and kind. I also cannot describe the way they dressed, as I never noticed it.

The Tsarevich was ailing all the time. I can tell you nothing about him. The Tsar used to carry him to his wheeled chair, and there he used to lie, covered with a blanket. I cannot describe his clothes.

All my evil thoughts about the Tsar disappeared after I had stayed a certain time amongst the guards. After I had seen them several times I began to feel entirely different towards them ; I began to pity them. I pitied them as human beings. I am telling you the entire truth. You may or may not believe me, but I kept on saying to myself, ' Let them escape, or do something to allow them to escape.' I did not tell anybody about this feeling, but I wanted to confide in Dr. Derevenko, who visited them about that time, but I was doubtful of him. I cannot tell you the reason, but I said, ' I don't know what kind of a man he is.' When he left them his face did not express anything, and he never said a single word about them. I am stating the whole truth. I actually wished them to escape. When I first entered the guards I had not seen them and I did not know them, so when Avdeiev and the ' Tovarishchi ' (Comrades) used to sing the revolutionary songs, I also used to join in the chorus; but after I learned how matters really

stood, I stopped singing, and a great number of us condemned Avdeiev for his behaviour to the Imperial Family.

Under Yurovsky's rule we were not allowed to go into the house. I never used to stay longer than was necessary in the Commandant's room, as after a bell rang (an electric bell was connected with the Commandant's room and Popov's house) we used to enter the Commandant's room, receive our orders and retire immediately. We seniors did not go to the Commandant's room unless the bell rang. Medvedev always went and we were asked for through him. Yurovsky was always with Nikulin, and Medvedev made great efforts to be in their company; the Letts from the Chresvychaika were also always near them. That is why I cannot tell you how Yurovsky felt about the Tsar. Avdeiev was more of our own class, as he was a workman like ourselves, and he lived with us. Yurovsky behaved himself like one in command, and did not allow us to go into the house.

I can only state the fact that immediately after he took command of the house he mounted a machine-gun in the attic and established a new post on the rear yard. He stopped all drunkenness, and I never saw him drunk or intoxicated. Nikulin was visited by a girl whose name was 'Seveleva,' but she was never allowed into the Commandant's room. But Yurovsky either diminished or forbade altogether the donations of the nuns to the Imperial Family; and he also did something that made the position of the Imperial Family much worse, but what this was I do not remember. Something that I could not understand also happened with regard to the priest. At the time of Yurovsky there was only one divine service. I was sent for once by Yurovsky, who ordered me to get any kind of priest! At first he asked me the names of the priests who had officiated. I told him they were Father Meledin and Father Storozhev. He then ordered me to fetch one of them. As Father Meledin happened to be the nearest, I went to see

him the same day. In the evening I told Yurovsky that I had asked Father Meledin to come. The next morning Yurovsky sent for me and again asked me the name of the priest whom I had told to come. I answered that I had asked Father Meledin. Upon hearing this Yurovsky said, 'Is that the one who lives on the Vodochnaia, where Doctor Chernavin lives?' I answered that it was the same one, after which Yurovsky sent me to tell Father Meledin not to come. 'Go and tell Father Meledin that there won't be any service,' he said. 'Service is postponed. And if he should ask you who has postponed the service, say that they did it, and not myself. Instead of Father Meledin, fetch Father Storozhev.' I went to Meledin and told him that there would be no service. He asked me 'Why?' I answered as Yurovsky had told me, that 'they' had postponed it. Directly afterwards I went to Father Storozhev and asked him to come. Why Yurovsky preferred Storozhev to Meledin, I don't know. He always did as he liked, and ignored the wishes of the men. On July 12 the men elected me instead of Medvedev to be their chief, but on Sunday, July 14, I returned home later than I was allowed to, so Yurovsky at once dismissed me and appointed Medvedev to take my place.

The last time I saw the Tsar and his daughters was on July 16. They were walking in the garden at about four o'clock in the afternoon. I don't remember whether I saw the heir. I did not see the Tsaritza as she was not with them.

On Monday, July 15, the boy who lived with the Imperial Family and used to push the wheeled chair, appeared in our quarters in Popov's house. My attention was drawn to this fact, and probably the other guards also noticed it. But nobody knew *why* the boy had been transferred to our house. There is no doubt that it was done acting on Yurovsky's orders. I was on duty on July 16. My hours at that time were from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. At ten o'clock I placed sentries

on all the eight posts (duties on posts number one, two, eleven and twelve were not performed by us). The sentries I placed on duty at 10 p.m. had to be relieved at 2 a.m. by the next senior, Constantin Dobrynin, to whom I transferred my duties. After I had transferred my duties, I went to our quarters. I remember that I had tea, and afterwards, at about eleven o'clock, I went to bed. Kleshcheiev, Romanov and Osokin were in the same room as myself. At about 4 a.m., when it was beginning to get light, I was awakened by Kleshcheiev's voice. Romanov and the other man, Osokin, who slept in the same room as I did, were also awakened. Kleshcheiev said in a frightened tone, 'Get up, you fellows, I will tell you the news; but get out into the other room.' We got up and followed him into the next room where there were some more men, and when we were all assembled, Kleshcheiev announced, 'The Tsar was shot to-day!' We all started to interrogate them as to how it happened, and he and Deriabin told us the following story, each completing the other's narrative.

At 2 a.m. Medvedev and Dobrynin notified them when they were standing at their posts, that they would have to perform their duty longer than two o'clock a.m., as during the night the Tsar was going to be shot. After receiving this order Kleshcheiev and Deriabin approached the windows: Kleshcheiev came to the window of the lobby on the lower floor opposite the door which led to the room where the murder took place, and Deriabin came to the window of the room which faced the Vosnesensky Lane. Shortly afterwards (they say it was at one o'clock a.m. by the Old Time, or a little past two by the New Time that had been instituted by the Bolsheviks, who changed the time two hours ahead) some persons entered the lower room and proceeded to the room where the murder took place. Kleshcheiev saw the procession quite well. Yurovsky and Nikulin came in first and were followed by the Emperor, the Empress and her daughters Olga, Tatiana, Maria

and Anastasia; then came Dr. Botkin, Demidova, Trupp, and Haritonov the cook. The heir was carried by the Emperor. Behind them walked Medvedev and the Letts (the ten men who lived in the lower room who had been sent from the Chresvychaika). Two out of their number carried rifles. When the Imperial Family came into the room, they placed themselves as follows: In the middle of the room stood the Tsar; the heir was seated on a chair to the right of the Tsar; to the right of the heir stood Doctor Botkin. Behind them, against the wall, stood the Empress with her daughters; on one side of the Empress stood the cook and the waiter, on the other side, Demidova.

The following people were also in the room, Yurovsky, Nikulin and the Letts. Behind the Letts stood Medvedev.

Deriabin could not hear the words with which Yurovsky addressed the Family, but Kleshcheiev positively affirms that he heard Yurovsky's words, and that Yurovsky said to the Tsar: 'Nicholas Alexandrovich, your relatives are trying to save you, therefore we are compelled to shoot you.' The same minute several shots were heard. All the revolvers were fired.

A woman's scream, followed by the loud screams of several women were heard after the first shots had been fired. They executed the victims one after the other. The Emperor fell first; after him fell the heir. Demidova was tossing about in agony and she was finally dispatched by bayonets. After they fell they were examined, and those who showed signs of life were again shot and then bayoneted. Out of the members of the Imperial Family they said Anastasia was the most pierced by the bayonets. After this they proceeded to search the dead; and they unbuttoned their clothes, looking for jewellery. Yurovsky took away all the things which were found on the dead persons, and carried them upstairs. Somebody brought a few sheets from upstairs, and the dead were wrapped in these and carried out into the yard through the

same rooms that they had been led to their execution. From the yard they were carried to a motor lorry which was standing behind the gate of the house. All of them were put on this lorry and some cloth was taken from the store-room and spread on it; the bodies were covered with the same cloth. Sergius Luhanov was the driver. The lorry with the bodies was driven by Luhanov through the gates that open on the Vosnesensky Lane. Yurovsky and three of the Letts went with the bodies. After the bodies were taken out of the house two Letts began to mop up the blood and wash it away with water and sawdust.

The narratives of Kleshcheiev and Deriabin seemed so much like the truth, as they both were so excited by everything they had seen, that nobody doubted their words. Deriabin felt especially upset; he swore and called the soldiers 'murderers' and 'butchers,' and spoke about them with profound disgust.

On one of the following days, either Medvedev or somebody who had it from Medvedev told me that Luhanov took the bodies to the Verkh-Isetsky Works. The lorry passed by wooded country, and then the ground began to get soft and swampy. The lorry proceeded with great difficulty, as its wheels sank into the mud. At last the lorry arrived at its destination, where a hole was already dug. All the bodies were laid in this hole and covered with earth.

What I am telling you is the truth. Neither myself nor any other of our Zlokazov workmen knew anything in the evening about the intended murder. From that evening Medvedev never came to our quarters, and did not explain anything to us. I admit that some of the Sissert workmen may have known about it through Medvedev, but the Sissert workmen kept themselves aloof from us, and we from them. Amongst the Sissert workmen there was a greater number of Bolsheviks than amongst our men.

Respecting the weapons which were used, I know that

Yurovsky had two revolvers, one of them a big Mauser and the other a Nagan. Besides these, I have seen a big revolver in the Commandant's room, and it is possible that it was a Colt. All the Letts had revolvers, and judging by the holsters they were Nagans. Besides which a few more revolvers were brought from some place at the time when Yurovsky was Commandant.

The description of the murder of the Tsar and his family impressed me very much. I sat and trembled, I did not go to bed, and at eight o'clock in the morning I went to see my sister, Kapitolina, with whom I was on very good terms. So I went to share my feelings with her: I was deeply pained in my soul. I found my sister alone: her husband was working in the commissariat of justice. When my sister saw how distressed I was, she asked me: 'What is the matter?' I answered: 'The Tsar is shot.' My sister said: 'Is it possible that you were there?' I told her what I have just told you, only not in such detail. I told her that the Imperial Family had been shot by order of the 'District Soviet of Workmen Deputies'; I have the same opinion now: it is impossible that Yurovsky did it on his own responsibility as at this time all power was in the hands of the District Soviet. I believe that the murder was done by order of the Soviet.

Some time previously the following conversations took place amongst the Red Guards: 'What will happen if the Czechs enter the town?' 'What will they do to the Imperial Family?' Suggestions were made that they would execute the Imperial Family.

I remember also that Deriabin said: 'Demidova had about thirty bayonet wounds.' I told this to my sister.

At about ten o'clock in the morning I returned from my sister's to the Popov house. I do not remember what I did up to 2 p.m., when my duty commenced. I placed the guards at all the posts, and then I entered the Commandant's room.

There I met Nikulin, two Letts and Medvedev. They were not in good spirits, and they all looked preoccupied and depressed. None of them spoke. A large number of valuable things were lying on the table. These consisted of pins, stones, ear-rings, beads and all sorts of jewels. Part lay in boxes, which were open. The door from the hall leading to the rooms used by the Imperial Family was closed as before, but there was nobody in the rooms: not a single sound was heard. Formerly sounds of life were always heard in these rooms. There was not any life there now. Only their little dog was standing near the door, waiting to be let into those rooms. I remember this so well because I thought, 'You are waiting in vain.' Before the murder there was a bed and a couch in the Commandant's room, but at two o'clock on July 17, when I came to the Commandant's room, I noticed two more beds. On one of these a Lett was lying. Later Medvedev told us that the Letts would not live any longer in the room where the murder took place (they used to occupy that room). Obviously this was the reason why the two beds had been transferred to the Commandant's room.

From two o'clock p.m. up to ten o'clock p.m. on July 17 I was on duty. But on this day I did not see Yurovsky in the house.

On the same day Medvedev told us that we were to be sent to the Front. So, on the morning of July 18 I went to the Zlokazov Factory to draw the money that was due me. At two o'clock I went on duty. On this day the Tsar's personal belongings were taken out from the Ipatiev house and put on an automobile. Beloborodov was sitting in the automobile. A number of other things were also taken away in carriages.

On July 18 I saw Yurovsky in the house at about six o'clock in the evening; he was constantly coming and going. At about eight o'clock in the evening he called Medvedev and gave

him the money for our pay. On July 18 all the things had been taken out of the house.

During the night of July 20, I and the other guards were sent to the station at Ekaterinburg. A part of the guard remained in the Ipatiev house.

At the end of July we arrived at Perm, and about a week after our arrival we were joined by the remainder of the guards from the Ipatiev house. All of them had been assigned to the disposal of Gorbunov, the commissary of supplies of the Third Army, and they were taken by steamer to Levshino. Kleshcheiev did not go with them to Levshino as he had to remain at Perm on account of being ill with venereal disease.

For a month I guarded Gorbunov's steamer and the train cars. On November 1, by my own wish, I went to Motoviliha and remained there. After the place came under the rule of the Supreme Ruler I was mobilized, I participated in battles with the Reds, and I was finally arrested.

I remember another fact about the life of the Emperor. Once when I entered the Commandant's room, Nikulin and Kabanov were there, and I heard Nikulin ask Kabanov what he had said to the Tsar during his walk. Kabanov replied that the Emperor had asked him if he had not been in a certain cuirassier regiment. Kabanov answered that he had been, and added that once, during the time he was in the regiment, it had been reviewed by the Tsar. We were all surprised at the Tsar's memory.

I could not tell what became of the boy who stayed with the Imperial Family. On one of the days following the murder I saw the boy in the distance: he was sitting in the room where the Sissert workmen were dining, and he was weeping so bitterly that his sobs were heard by me. I did not go near him, nor did I ask him any questions. I was told that when the boy heard about the murder of the Imperial Family he began to cry.

On July 17, after I became calmer in my mind, I went to Medvedev's room. In this room I met another man who had previously obtained supplies for the Imperial Family and the guard. I began to question Medvedev about the murder. Medvedev told me that shortly after twelve in the night Yurovsky roused the Imperial Family and said to the Tsar: 'An attack is about to be made on the house, so I must transfer you all to the lower rooms.' They all came down. In reply to my question who actually did the shooting, Medvedev answered that it was the Letts. When I asked where the bodies had been taken, he told me that the bodies were taken by Yurovsky and the Letts on an automobile to the Verkh-Isetsky Works and from there to a wooded place by the swamp, where the bodies were put in one hole and covered with earth. I remember he said that the automobile kept on sinking in the swampy ground, and only arrived at the grave with great difficulty.

I know that Avdeiev, before he was appointed Commandant of Ipatiev's house, went to Tobolsk to fetch the Tsar and his family. He was accompanied by Hohriakov, who was afterwards killed at the Front and buried with great ceremony in Perm by the Bolsheviks.

I also remember that when I went to Ekaterinburg I heard two workmen saying that the Tsar had left Ekaterinburg. All of us began to tell them that the Tsar had been shot.

I can't explain anything else. My testimony has been read to me, and is correct.

(*Signed*) ANATOLY ALEXANDROVICH YAKIMOV.
(*Signed*) N. SOKOLOV.

THE EXAMINATION OF PAVEL MEDVEDEV

THE deposition of Pavel Medvedev, the former workman at the Sissert Factory, reveals a more hardened character than that of Yakimov. He regards events in the cold light of reason, and offers no comments either of pity or of dislike. As he informed the Member of the District Court, the fate of the Tsar and his family did not 'interest' him. But it is worthy of notice that this unemotional workman insists that he took no part whatever in the actual murder, which implies that the tragedy was repugnant even to a man of his type.

His account also bears the imprint of truth. It is evident from it that Medvedev possessed no imagination, and he describes the blood-stained room, and the throbbing corpses exactly as every-day occurrences. There is no attempt to impress his interrogator. His standpoint is: 'I saw these things; this is how they happened. I have nothing more to say.'

His account of the disposal of the corpses differs from that of Yakimov. It agrees, however, that the route taken by the motor lorry was in the direction of the Verkh-Isetsky Works.

On February 21, 1919, in the town of Ekaterinburg, the member of Ekaterinburg District Court, J. Sergeiev, examined the under-mentioned person in the capacity of an accused, with the application of Articles 403-409 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The accused deposed as follows:—

My name is

PAVEL SPIRIDONOVICH MEDVEDEV.

I am thirty-one years of age, a member of the Orthodox

Church. I am by birth a peasant. I worked at the Sissert Works of the Ekaterinburg District. I have a house which belongs to me at the works.

In September, 1914, I was mobilized and assigned to the Opolchenskaia Druzhina (33rd Territorial Battalion), located in the town of Verkhoturie. I stayed with the battalion for two months. I was then discharged and exempted from military service on account, I believe, of having been employed as a munition worker.

After the February Revolution, in April, 1917, I joined the Bolshevist Party, and the majority of the workmen in our works did the same. During three months I paid to the Party treasury one per cent. of my wages. Then I ceased to pay because I was no longer willing to participate in the activities of the Party.

After the October Revolution, in January, 1918, I enlisted in the Red Army, and in February they sent me to the Front to fight against Dutov. Commissar Sergei Mrachkovsky was in command of my detachment. We were then fighting in the vicinity of Troitzk, but our fighting was unsuccessful, as we did more wandering about the steppes than actual fighting. In April I came home on leave and spent three weeks there. In the second half of May the above-mentioned Commissar Mrachkovsky came to our works and began to recruit workmen for a special detachment assigned to guard the house where the former Emperor, Nicholas II, and his family lived. The conditions attracted me, and I enlisted. Altogether some thirty workmen were enlisted.

On May 19, 1918, the detachment recruited by Commissar Mrachkovsky arrived in Ekaterinburg and was quartered in the Novy Gostiny Dvor (new market house), where we lived until May 24. According to the order of the Ural District Soviet, we elected from amongst our number two senior guards. Alexis Nikiforov and myself were elected. On May 24 our

detachment was transferred to new quarters on the ground floor of the Ipatiev house. The same day the former Emperor with his family arrived. They were placed in the upper floor of this house. The whole of the upper floor of the house was at their disposal, except one room (to the left from the entrance) which was occupied by the Commandant of the house and his assistant. Alexander Avdeiev, a former workman in the Zlokazov Factory, was Commandant, and Moshkin (I don't remember his Christian name) was his assistant. Two other men were also quartered in the Commandant's room. I do not know their names, but I know they were workmen from the Zlokazov Factory.

As soon as our party had arrived at the Ipatiev house the Commandant ordered me (as I was senior guard) to receive the prisoners. Together with Avdeiev and Moshkin I entered the corner room (the Tsar's bedroom). The following persons were there: The Emperor, his wife, his son, his four daughters, Doctor Botkin, the cook, the waiter and a boy. (I do not know their names.) After having counted the party and finding that they were twelve in number, we left, without having spoken to them. The Tsar's four daughters were placed in the room adjoining the Tsar's bedroom. At first there were no beds for them, but after two or three days beds were put in the room. The Commandant was in charge of the internal life in the house; the guards only performed sentry duty. At first the guards were on duty in three relays, but later in four. We stayed in Ipatiev's house for two or three weeks, after which we were transferred to Popov's house, which was exactly opposite. A few days after this the guard was augmented by fourteen more workmen from the Zlokazov Factory, which is situated in Ekaterinburg. Those Zlokazov workmen also elected their senior guard, a workman by the name of Yakimov. There were altogether eleven sentry posts; two were inside the house, two by the machine-guns, and four outside the house.

Every day the Tsar's family used to walk in the garden. The heir was ailing all the time, and the Emperor carried him to his wheeled chair. At the beginning, the dinner for the Imperial Family was brought from the Soviet's dining-room; but afterwards they were allowed to prepare their own dinner in the kitchen on the upper floor. The duties of the Seniors, who were captains of the Guard, were to take charge of the food and supplies of the guards, to change the sentries, and to supervise them. When on duty the Senior Guard had to stay in the commandant's room. At first the Senior Guard took turns every twelve hours in performing their duties. Then a third Senior Guard, Constantin Dobrynin, was elected, and after this we did duty in eight-hour shifts. At the end of June or at the beginning of July (I don't remember exactly), the Commandant Avdeiev and his assistant, Moshkin, were dismissed (it seems that they were suspected of stealing the Tsar's belongings), and a new commandant was assigned named Yurovsky. The new commandant's assistant arrived with him, but I positively do not remember his name. In the evening of July 16, between 7 and 8 p.m., when the time for my duty had just begun, Commandant Yurovsky ordered me to take all the Nagan revolvers from the guards and to bring them to him. I took twelve revolvers from the sentries as well as from some other of the guards, and brought them to the commandant's office. Yurovsky said to me: 'We must shoot *them all* to-night, so notify the guards not to be alarmed if they hear shots.' I understood, therefore, that Yurovsky had it in his mind to shoot the whole of the Tsar's family, as well as the doctor and the servants who lived with them, but I did not ask him where or by whom the decision had been made. I must tell you that in accordance with Yurovsky's order the boy who assisted the cook was transferred in the morning to the guard-room (in the Popov house). The lower floor of Ipatiev's house was occupied by the Letts from the

Letts Commune, who had taken up their quarters there after Yurovsky was made commandant. They were ten in number. At about ten o'clock in the evening, in accordance with Yurovsky's order, I informed the guards not to be alarmed if they should hear firing. About midnight, Yurovsky woke up the Tsar's family. I do not know if he told them the reason they had been awakened and where they were to be taken, but I positively affirm that it was Yurovsky who entered the rooms occupied by the Tsar's family. Yurovsky had not ordered me or Dobrynin to awaken the Family. In about an hour the whole of the Family, the doctor, the maid, and the two waiters got up, washed and dressed themselves. Just before Yurovsky went to awaken the Family, two members of the Extraordinary Commission arrived at Ipatiev's house. Shortly after one o'clock a.m., the Tsar, the Tsaritsa, their four daughters, the maid, the doctor, the cook and the waiter left their rooms. The Tsar carried the heir in his arms. The Emperor and the heir were dressed in 'gimnasterkas' (soldiers' shirts) and wore caps. The Empress and her daughters were dressed, but their heads were uncovered. The Emperor, carrying the heir, preceded them. The Empress, her daughters and the others followed him. Yurovsky, his assistant and the two above-mentioned members of the Extraordinary Commission accompanied them. I was also present. During my presence none of the Tsar's family asked any questions. They did not weep or cry. Having descended the stairs to the first floor, we went out into the court, and from there by the second door (counting from the gate) we entered the ground floor of the house. When the room (which adjoins the store-room with a sealed door) was reached, Yurovsky ordered chairs to be brought, and his assistant brought three chairs. One chair was given to the Emperor, one to the Empress, and the third to the heir. The Empress sat by the wall by the window, near the back pillar of the arch. Behind her stood three of

her daughters (I knew their faces very well, because I had seen them every day when they walked in the garden, but I don't know their names). The heir and the Emperor sat side by side almost in the middle of the room. Doctor Botkin stood behind the heir. The maid, a very tall woman, stood at the left of the door leading to the store-room ; by her side stood one of the Tsar's daughters (the fourth). Two servants stood against the wall on the left from the entrance of the room.

The maid carried a pillow. The Tsar's daughters also brought small pillows with them. One pillow was put on the Empress's chair ; another on the heir's chair. It seemed as if all of them guessed their fate, but not one of them uttered a single sound. At this moment eleven men entered the room : Yurovsky, his assistant, two members of the Extraordinary Commission, and seven Letts. Yurovsky ordered me to leave, saying : ' Go into the street, see if there is anybody there, and wait and see whether the shots have been heard.' I went out to the court, which was enclosed by a fence, but before I got to the street I heard the firing. I returned to the house immediately (only two or three minutes having elapsed), and upon entering the room where the execution had taken place, I saw that all the members of the Tsar's family were lying on the floor with many wounds in their bodies. The blood was running in streams. The doctor, the maid and two waiters had also been shot. When I entered the heir was still alive and moaned a little. Yurovsky went up and fired two or three more times at him. Then the heir was still.

The sight of the murder and the smell of blood made me sick. Before the assassination, when Yurovsky distributed the revolvers, he gave me one, but, as I said before, I did not take any part in the murder. After the assassination Yurovsky told me to bring some guards to wash away the blood in the room. On the way to Popov's house I met two of the Senior Guards, Ivan Starkov and Constantin Dobrynin. They were running

in the direction of Ipatiev's house. Dobrynin asked me: 'Has Nicholas II been shot?' I answered that Nicholas II and the whole of his family had been shot. I brought twelve or fifteen guards back with me to the house. These men carried the dead bodies out to the motor-lorry that waited near the entrance, and the bodies were placed on stretchers made from bedsheets and shafts of sledges taken from the yard. When they were loaded on the truck they were wrapped in soldiers' clothing. The driver's name was Luhanov, a Zlokazov workman. The members of the Extraordinary Commission sat on the lorry and the truck drove off. I do not know in what direction the lorry went, neither do I know where the bodies were taken.

The blood in the room was washed away and everything was put in order. At three o'clock in the morning all was finished, Yurovsky went to his room and I went back to the guard-room.

I woke up shortly after eight o'clock and went to the commandant's room. I met there Beloborodov, the President of the District Soviet, Commissar Goloshchekin, and Ivan Starkov; the last-named was on duty (he was selected as Senior Guard two or three weeks before). All the rooms in the house were in disorder. Things were scattered about everywhere. Suitcases and trunks were open. Piles of gold and silver articles were lying on the tables in the commandant's room. Objects of jewellery which had been taken away from the members of the Tsar's family just before the murder, were also there; as well as things that were found on them after their death, such as bracelets, ear-rings and watches. The valuables were put in trunks brought from the coach-house. The assistant commandant was present. In one of the rooms I found six ten-rouble bank-notes under the Holy Bible and I appropriated them. I also took several silver rings and a few other trifles.

On the morning of the 18th my wife arrived and I went

with her to the Sissert Works. I was instructed to distribute wages to the families of the guards. On July 21 I returned to Ekaterinburg. All the Tsar's belongings had been already removed from the house, and the guards had been relieved. On July 21 I left Ekaterinburg with Mrachkovsky, the Commissar. In Perm Commissar Goloshchekin assigned me to the party in charge of guarding our preparations for the destruction of the stone bridge in case of the appearance of the White troops. I had not time to blow up the bridge according to my instructions, but I did not really wish to do it, as I wished to surrender voluntarily. I received the order to blow up the bridge when it was under fire of the Siberian troops, and I surrendered voluntarily.

In answer to your question as to where the bodies of the Imperial Family were taken, I can only state the following: On the way from Ekaterinburg railway station to Alapaievsk, I met Peter Ermakov and asked him where the bodies had been carried to. Ermakov explained that the bodies had been thrown down the shaft of a mine near the Verkh-Isetsk Works, and that the shaft had afterwards been destroyed by bombs or explosives in order to fill it up. I do not know, and I never heard anything concerning the wood piles that were burned near the shaft. I do not know anything more about the whereabouts of the bodies. It did not interest me who were responsible for the fate of the Tsar's Family and who had the right to dispose of their lives. I only carried out the orders of those in whose service I was.

The above is all that I can tell in reference to the accusation made against me. I cannot say more. My testimony has been read to me and it is taken correctly.

(*Signed*) MEDVEDEV.

The Member of the Ekaterinburg Tribunal,
(*Signed*) J. SERGEIEV.

RESOLUTION.

On February 22, 1919, in the town of Ekaterinburg, the Member of the District Tribunal, Sergeiev, having questioned the peasant, Pavel Medvedev, prosecuted in the capacity of being an accomplice in the assassination of the former Emperor and the members of his family, and having adopted measures to prevent his escape from further inquiry, has found :—

(1) That he is indicted for a crime and is liable to a very serious penalty.

(2) That Medvedev before having been arrested, was in hiding with the Red Army ; and previous to that, he escaped from Ekaterinburg just before the said town was taken by Government troops. On these counts it was resolved to put Pavel Medvedev, aged thirty-one years, under arrest in the Ekaterinburg prison.

The Member of the Ekaterinburg District Court,
(*Signed*) J. SERGEIEV.

THE EXAMINATION OF PHILIP PROSKURIAKOV

THE deposition of Philip Proskuriakov possesses a certain amount of psychological interest as the testimony of a lad of seventeen who was suddenly confronted with death in one of its most violent and terrible forms. Proskuriakov appears to have been a clever, restless youth with a distaste for settled employment, who probably enlisted in the Workmen Guards solely in the spirit of adventure.

His story of the murder of the Imperial Family is more horrible than the accounts given by the older men. Proskuriakov's love of the morbid and his slightly decadent mentality are plainly shown in his account of the events of the night, when he was awakened from a drunken sleep and ordered to proceed to that sinister bullet-riddled room on the ground floor of Ipatiev's house where the blood of Innocence cried to Heaven. But his minute attention to many of the ghastly and often irrelevant details is valuable as documentary evidence, as it goes to prove most conclusively that *these things actually happened, and were retained as they happened* in the mind of a person whose neurotic temperament enabled him to remember them accurately and vividly.

From the first to the third day of April, 1919, the Investigating Magistrate for Cases of Special Importance of the Omsk Tribunal, N. A. Sokoloff, in conformity with Paragraphs 403–409 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, examined the undermentioned man, in the town of Ekaterinburg, in the capacity of an accused person, who deposed :—

My name is

PHILIP POLIEKTOV PROSKURIAKOV.

At the time when the crime was committed I was seventeen years of age ; I am a Russian peasant, I belong to the Orthodox Church, and I am unmarried. For three years I attended the Sissert Five Class School. My speciality is electrical fittings. In answer to your questions, I reply as follows :—

For many years my father acted as a foreman in the Iron Works, and resided all the time in the Sissert Iron Works. This was my birthplace. I did not complete my studies in the Sissert School, but only studied there for three years. It was very difficult for me to learn anything, as my father fell ill and took me away from school. At first he placed me in the blacksmith's shop at the factory, to learn the trade, which I was taught by Vasily Afanasevich Belonosov. I left after I had worked for about a year in the shop, as I found this kind of work was too hard for me. My eldest brother obtained a situation for me in the Palais Royal Theatre, where I began to fit myself for the position of electrician. I stayed there about a year, and as, by that time, I had learned something about electricity, I started in business for myself. Later I obtained a position in the Central Electric Plant in Ekaterinburg. I worked there for about a month, and just before Easter, 1918, I went home.

I remember quite well that on May 9 I met a friend of mine, Ivan Semenov Talapov, in the Bazaar. He told me that a certain Commissar, named Mrachkovsky, had started recruiting amongst our workmen for a special detachment to guard the Tsar. Personally, I did not see Mrachkovsky. I only heard that he was in command of some troops fighting against Dutov—from whence he had come here. I told my father what Talapov had said, but both my father and my mother advised me not to enlist. My father's words were : ' Philip,

don't go; think it well over.' But I was anxious to see the Tsar, so I ignored my father's advice and the next day I enlisted. My enlistment took place in the house of Vasily Erkov, which is on the Tzerkovnaia Street, close to the Soviet, and was confirmed by one of our Sissert workmen, Paul Spiridonov Medvedev, who told me that we were to be paid four hundred roubles per month to perform sentry duty, but that we should not be allowed to go to sleep whilst doing so! Such were the conditions explained to me, and I enlisted at once.

I heard at the time that thirty of the Sissert workmen had enlisted. Later, some of them withdrew, but the number of those who did so was small, and they were replaced by other workmen from our factory.

Eleven of the first thirty men, so I was told, belonged to the Bolshevik Communist Party.

In the second half of May we arrived at Ekaterinburg. At first we were all quartered in the new 'Gostiny-Dvor' (Bazaar House), where the soldiers of the Red Army were also located. We stayed there a few days without doing any work. At the end of May we were transferred to the Ipatiev house where the Tsar's family lived. We were placed in rooms on the ground floor.

Alexander Moshkin, formerly a workman of the Zlokazov Factory, was in charge of the house, and our detachment was under his orders. Medvedev was Senior Guard in our party. He was our Chief. Nobody had elected him, but he had been in charge of our party from the beginning, and he gave us our pay and changed the sentries. Our pay was four hundred roubles per month, but Medvedev received six hundred. Avdeiev remained in the house all the time and occupied the commandant's room. He usually arrived at nine o'clock a.m. and left at nine o'clock p.m. Moshkin always stayed in the commandant's room. Medvedev also stayed in the same room with these two men and spent the night there.

The sentry posts were as follows: (1) The sentry-box near the gate. (2) The sentry-box near the chapel (shrine). (3) The post between two fences, by the window of the house. (4) A post in the front court, near the entrance to the house. (5) A post in the back court. (6) A post in the garden. (7) A post at the entrance room of the upper floor, by the commandant's room. (8) A post near the lavatory, where the lavatory and the bath-room were located. Besides these there were three sentry posts with machine-guns. (9) A post beside the attic window. (10) A post on the terrace facing the garden. (11) A post in the middle room on the ground floor.

We had performed our duties about a week when Avdeiev brought up about fifteen more men—all workmen of the Zlokazov Factory. I suppose he did this because he thought we were overworked, as we were obliged to be on duty four hours at a time; it was generally raining, and we were not accustomed to this sort of duty.

The Zlokazov workmen lived with us in the upper floor. There were not any women in our detachment, we had our own male cooks, who prepared our food. At first Ivan Kategov was the cook, but later he was replaced by Andrew Starkov.

At the end of June, or maybe at the beginning of July, Moshkin was arrested by Avdeiev, as he was suspected of stealing a small gold cross belonging to the Tsar. At the same time Avdeiev was also dismissed and replaced by Yurovsky. Nikulin was appointed as his assistant.

I do not know who Yurovsky and Nikulin were. Both of them arrived at the house together. They always remained in the commandant's room. Yurovsky arrived in the morning at eight or nine o'clock and left at five or six in the afternoon. Nikulin practically lived in the commandant's room, and spent the night there. Medvedev also continued to spend the night in the same room.

About a week after Yurovsky and Nikulin had taken up

their duties, the Sissert and Zlokazov workmen were transferred to the Popov (or Obukov) house, which was opposite the Ipatiev house. The lower floor of the Ipatiev house was then occupied by Letts, who were about ten in number.

Before the arrival of the Letts all sentry duties were performed exclusively by the Sissert workmen. After their arrival all the posts on the upper floor (where the Tsar's family lived) were taken by Letts. We Russian workmen were not allowed to go near the upper floor. Such were the orders of Yurovsky.

The machine-gun teams, who performed no other duty than that connected with the machine-guns, were composed of our own Sissert workmen.

At the time when Avdeiev was Chief, all the other posts were occupied by the rest of the workmen. But after the arrival of Yurovsky and the Letts, we began only to occupy the posts outside the house. All posts inside the house were assigned to the Letts. Before the arrival of the Letts I carried out my sentry duties inside the house for about six times, keeping guard by the commandant's room and the lavatory. I performed this duty in the morning, during the day, and in the evening, and the night. I saw all the Imperial Family when I was on duty. I was able to see them quite closely when they went for a walk or passed from one room to another. They all used to walk in the garden, with the exception of the Empress, who I never saw in the garden. The Tsarevich I only saw once, when he was being carried by Olga, the oldest daughter of the Emperor. The Tsarevich was ill all the time.

I can tell you something about the way in which they spent their time from what Medvedev told me, as he saw them more frequently than I did. They got up at about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, and then they all assembled in one room for family prayers. They had dinner at three o'clock. They all dined in one room; but by this I mean to say they dined

with the servants who had remained with them. At nine o'clock in the evening they had supper and tea, after that they went to bed. According to the words of Medvedev, they occupied themselves in the following way : The Emperor read, the Empress also read, or else she and her daughters embroidered or knitted. The Tsarevich (when he was able) made little wire chains for his toy ship. They walked every day for about an hour, or an hour and a half. They were not allowed to take any other physical exercise. I remember that Pashka Medvedev once told me that the Tsar Nicholas Alexandrovich asked Yurovsky's permission to work in the garden ; but Yurovsky forbade him to do it.

I heard them singing several times, but they only sang sacred songs. On Sundays they had divine service, which was performed by a priest and a deacon, who I think came from the Verhne-Vosnesensky Church.

At first the food was brought for them by two women from a Soviet dining-room. Their cook heated it. Later, they were allowed to have their food prepared in the house.

Besides the Imperial Family there lived with them in the upper floor the following persons, all of whom I have seen. There was the doctor, a stout man, with grey hair, aged about fifty-five. He wore spectacles, with, so far as I can remember, gold rims. There was a waiter, aged about thirty-five, tall, slim, and dark. A cook also stayed with them. He was aged forty, short, thin, and a little bald ; his hair was black and he had a black moustache. There was also a maid, aged about forty, tall, thin, and dark ; I did not see the colour of her hair, because she always tied a handkerchief over her head. There was also a boy aged about fifteen, his hair was black, and he wore it parted, his nose was long, and his eyes were black.

Two other men stayed with the Imperial Family, but, as Medvedev explained to me, they were servants. One of them was a tall, thin man aged about thirty-five, with light, red

hair, who wore no beard, but who trimmed his moustache neatly; his nose was medium size and straight; I don't remember any other distinguishing marks, but his skin was as clear and delicate as a woman's. The other man was also tall, his age was about thirty, and his hair was black. He was clean shaven. The first man wore a black jacket, trousers and shoes. The second man wore a jacket, a stiff shirt with a tie, trousers and shoes. I only saw these men once when I was on guard in the house during the first days. After this I did not see them again. Medvedev told me that both of them had been taken to Number Two Prison, but I was not told the reason, and I was not interested in knowing it. On several occasions I have seen the Bolshevik Beloborodov, who came to the house to watch the doings of the Imperial Family. Anyhow, I was told by Medvedev that this was the reason of his visits. I observed Beloborodov very distinctly. He looked about twenty-five, he was of medium height, thin, and his face was pale. Beloborodov visited the house while Avdeiev was on duty as well as when Yurovsky took his place.

Regarding the restrictions and treatment of the Emperor and his family by the executives and guards, I can conscientiously depose as follows: Avdeiev was a workman of poor mental development who often was in a state of intoxication; but neither he nor the guards persecuted or wronged the Imperial Family. Yurovsky and Nikulin behaved very differently. During their time the Imperial Family suffered more. They both used to drink to excess in the commandant's room, and they sang horrible songs whilst in a state of intoxication. Nikulin played the piano (that was in the commandant's room), and sometimes when Nikulin was playing and Yurovsky's eyes were bleared with drink, they both started yelling out songs, such as 'Let us Forget the Old World; Let us Shake its Dust from our Feet,' 'We do not Need a Golden Idol,' 'We abhor the Tsar's Palace,' and so on. Occasion-

ally they sang, 'You Died as the Victim of a Struggle.' Moshkin also sang these songs, but only in the absence of Avdeiev, who knew nothing about their doings, but the first two men took life easily. In Avdeiev's time women never entered the house, but Nikulin had a mistress who came to see him and stayed with him after Yurovsky's departure. She was a blonde, aged about twenty, and she was short and stout; her eyes were brown and her nose was small and straight. I do not know her name. I don't know where she lived or from whence she came. Medvedev told nothing about her. At the time of Yurovsky, divine service was performed less frequently.

The behaviour of the guards under Yurovsky became much worse. Faika Safonov, in particular, behaved most indecently. There was only one lavatory for the Imperial Family, and on the walls near this lavatory Faika Safonov scribbled all sorts of bad words, which were very much out of place. He was also seen scribbling those words on the walls near the lavatory by Alexeiev, who was on duty on the upper floor with him (Faika occupied the post near the lavatory and Alexeiev that near the commandant's room). When Alexeiev came off duty he told us everything about it. Once Faika climbed the fence which was quite close to the windows of the Emperor's rooms and began to shout out all sorts of low songs.

Andrew Strekotin drew indecent pictures on the walls of the lower room. Belomoin participated in the drawing and he laughed and taught Strekotin how to draw more indecencies. (I have personally seen Strekotin drawing those things.)

Once when I was walking near the house I saw Anastasia, the youngest daughter of the Emperor, looking out of the window. When the sentry on duty noticed her he fired his rifle. The bullet missed her and lodged in the woodwork of the window frame.

All these things were known to Yurovsky, but when Med-

vedev reported Podkorytov (the sentry), Yurovsky only answered: 'They must *not* look out of the window.'

As I said before, from the time the Letts joined the guards, they lived in the ground floor of the Ipatiev house, and we workmen were all transferred to the house opposite, which belonged to Popov (or Obukov). In this house we occupied all the rooms on the upper floor; the ground floor was taken up by tenants.

The Zlokazov workmen were placed in the same rooms as ourselves.

The last time I saw the Imperial Family (except the Emperor) was a few days before they were murdered. On that day they all with the exception of the Empress went for a walk in the garden. I saw the Emperor, his son, and his daughters Olga, Maria, Tatiana and Anastasia; there were also the doctor, the waiter, the cook, the maid and the boy. I noticed that the heir wore a shirt and had a black leather belt fastened with a small metal buckle round his waist. I saw him very distinctly, because the Grand Duchess Olga carried him close by where I was standing. The heir was ill and the boy pushed his wheeled chair. I cannot tell you the exact date when I saw them walking in the garden. But it was not long before their death. The murder took place in the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, but I do not remember the date. I know that we received our wages on Monday, so it must have been July 15, reckoning by the New Style. At ten o'clock in the morning of July 16, the day after we received our pay, I was standing on duty by the sentry-box near to the Vosnesensky Prospekt and the Vosnesensky Lane. Egor Stolov, with whom I shared a room, was on duty in the lower rooms of the house. After we had finished our shift we went with Stolov to get some drinks at 85 Vodochnaia Street.

We returned at dusk, as we had to go on duty at five o'clock.

Medvedev saw that we were drunk, and put us under arrest in the bath-house, which was situated in the yard of Popov's house. We soon fell asleep, and slept until 3 a.m. At three o'clock we were awakened by Medvedev, who said, 'Get up and follow me.' We asked him why and where to, but he only answered, 'They have sent for you, so you must go.' I am sure that it was three o'clock, because Stolov had a watch, and when I looked at this it was exactly three o'clock. We got up at once and followed Medvedev, who took us to the ground floor of the Ipatiev house. All the guards were present, except those who were on duty. There was a cloud of powder smoke in the room, which smelt strongly of gunpowder. In the back room with the barred window, close to the store-room, the walls and floor were pierced by bullets. In one wall there was a large number of bullet holes, and there were also a few bullet marks in the others. There were no marks of bayonet strokes on the walls. In the places where the walls and the floor showed the marks of bullets, there was also blood, and there were splashes and spots of blood on the walls and pools of blood on the floor. There were drops and splashes of blood in the other rooms which we had to pass on the way back to the courtyard. It was obvious that just before our arrival a large number of people had been shot in the room with the barred window. After I had seen these things I began to question Medvedev and Strekotin. They told me that a few moments before, all the Imperial Family and the people attached to them (except the boy) had been shot.

Medvedev then ordered us to clean up the rooms. We began to wash the floor, and it was necessary to use several mops in order to wash away all the blood. I cannot say who brought the mops, and Medvedev also ordered some sawdust to be brought. We washed the floor with cold water and sawdust, which removed the blood-stains, and we washed off the blood on the walls with wet rags. All the workmen took

part in the cleaning, except those who were on duty. A number of men did the cleaning in the room where the Imperial Family was killed. Amongst others I saw Medvedev and two Letts. I also helped to clean this room, and we washed the blood from the pavement of the courtyard. I did not find any bullets. I do not know whether any bullets were found by other people.

When Stolov and myself came down to the lower room we found nobody there except a few Letts. Medvedev and our workmen were absent. Nikulin at that time, according to Medvedev, was in the upper room, but the door which led to the lower rooms was locked from the inside.

I saw no gold or any valuable articles which had been taken from the bodies of the murdered people.

But I have suddenly remembered that, on the Tuesday morning, when I was on sentry duty, I saw Yurovsky come into the house at eight o'clock in the morning. Some time after his arrival Beloborodov also entered the house. I left my post at ten o'clock in the morning ; but Medvedev told me afterwards that Yurovsky and Beloborodov went out in an automobile. At this time Nikulin remained in the house. Yurovsky and Beloborodov returned before evening. During the evening Yurovsky told Medvedev that the Imperial Family were to be shot during the night, and ordered him to notify the workmen and to take the revolvers from the sentries. I had almost forgotten to tell you this.

Matters were not clear to me. I couldn't tell if it was all true, as I did not think of questioning any of the workmen. Personally I don't understand why it was necessary to take all the revolvers, as, according to Medvedev, the Imperial Family was shot by the Letts, who had Nagan revolvers. At this time I did not know that Yurovsky was a Jew. As he was the instigator of the crime, he may have selected the Letts to do the actual killing, having more confidence in them than in us Russians. Perhaps for this reason he wanted to disarm

the Russian workmen on duty. Medvedev carried out Yurovsky's order and took the revolvers away from the sentries, which he gave to Yurovsky, and at eleven o'clock in the evening he notified the workmen that the Imperial Family was going to be shot. At midnight Yurovsky awoke the Imperial Family, and requested them to dress and go down to the lower room. According to Medvedev, Yurovsky explained to the Imperial Family that there might be danger during the night, and that in case firing were to take place in the streets, it would be dangerous to remain in the upper floors. So as he insisted upon everybody coming down, they fulfilled his request and descended to the lower room, accompanied by Yurovsky, Nikulin and Beloborodov. These persons were the Emperor, the Empress, the heir, the four daughters, the doctor, the waiter, the maid, and the cook. The boy, by order of Yurovsky, had been transferred to the rooms where we were quartered, and I saw him there before the murder. All the prisoners were brought into the room which bore the marks of bullets. They stood in two rows. Yurovsky commenced to read a paper. The Emperor did not hear very well, and asked, 'What does this mean?' According to the words of Medvedev, Yurovsky lifted his hand with the revolver, and showing it to the Emperor, he savagely answered '*This!*' 'Your race must cease to live,' he added.

I remember that when Medvedev told me about the paper which Yurovsky read to the Emperor, he called it a 'protocol.'

As soon as Yurovsky had finished speaking, he, Beloborodov, Nikulin, Medvedev and all the Letts fired at the Emperor and then began to shoot at everybody else. The prisoners all fell dead or wounded on the floor. Medvedev told me himself that he shot two or three times at the Emperor and several of the other persons whom they were executing.

All of them were shot. Alexander Strekotin told me himself that he stripped the bodies of valuables, but his spoil was

taken away from him by Yurovsky. After this the bodies were thrown on a motor lorry and taken away somewhere. Yurovsky, Belobodorov and a number of Letts rode on the lorry. None of our workmen went with them.

After we had finished cleaning the rooms we went into town with Stolov, and sauntered about until evening. We did not meet any of our acquaintances, and we did not tell anybody about the murder. In the evening we came back to our quarters and had some food, and then slept. At six o'clock in the morning of Thursday, July 18, Medvedev ordered me on duty to a post inside the house by the Commandant's room. Ever since the arrival of the Letts not a single workman had ever been allowed to do sentry duty inside the house whilst the Imperial Family was still alive, but now, after they had been killed, we were again ordered on duty inside the house.

There was no sentry near the lavatory. Yurovsky, Nikulin, Medvedev and the Letts were already in the house when I took up my post. There were none of our workmen and none of Zlokazov's. I well remember that when I came to my post Yurovsky was in the house. Probably he had spent the night there. They were ransacking the Emperor's belongings in a great hurry and they were packing up all the things that could possibly be packed. I could not hear the conversation between Yurovsky, Nikulin and Medvedev. They were all calm, but I had the impression that Yurovsky and Nikulin were slightly intoxicated.

During the day nothing was taken away, and only the packing went on.

After I left my post I went to the guard-room where I slept, and ate, and then I went to see my brother Alexander who was in the militia. I did not tell my brother anything about the murder. I sauntered around the town until the evening and then I returned to our quarters. In the guard-room Medvedev told us that we were to leave Ekaterinburg.

On July 19 we were sent to the station at Ekaterinburg. Our party was told off to guard the staff of the Third Red Army. The staff was quartered in railway-cars and we were stationed by them. At this time I saw the Emperor's property loaded on trucks and shipped to the station; it was the same luggage that had been previously packed in handbags and trunks.

I also saw Yurovsky's departure. He left during the night of July 21, and proceeded towards Perm. His family and Nikulin accompanied him. All the Letts who had lived in the Ipatiev house and who had killed the Imperial Family left with Yurovsky. We went away from Ekaterinburg with the staff of the Third Army, when the town was already occupied by the Siberian forces. We then went to Perm, but when General Pepeliaiev's troops were about to take Perm, the staff of the Third Army and all our workmen left Perm and proceeded towards Viatka. But I remained in Perm, and afterwards I returned to Ekaterinburg and stopped with my brother Alexander. The secret service learned of my presence, and I was ordered to report myself at the police-station, where an elderly official began to question me. I was very much afraid and I began to lie, saying that I had never been amongst the guards of the Imperial Family. Afterwards, I confessed that I was one of the guards, but I denied all knowledge of anything else. Now I have told you everything that I know about this matter.

I fully realize how wrong I was not to follow the advice of my father and mother, and to have enlisted in the guards. Now I realize what a wicked action it was to kill the Imperial Family, and I understand that I was wrong in washing out the blood-stains. I am not a Bolshevik, and I never was one. All that I did, I did because of my youth and stupidity. If I could help to find the people who committed the murder, I would spare no efforts to do so.

All the workmen on duty had Nagan revolvers, which had been distributed by Medvedev a few days before the murder. Yurovsky carried a Browning pistol, Medvedev a Nagan revolver.

I don't know what happened to the boy who waited on the Imperial Family, and who was transferred to our quarters before the murder. He slept on my bed and I spoke to him. I don't know if he knew about the murder of the Imperial Family. He did not cry and we did not talk to him about the murder. He told me that the Commandant intended to send him home, and he mentioned some district or other, but I have forgotten the name. At the time he complained that Yurovsky had taken away his clothes. I cannot name any particular man out of the Letts.

When I was on duty inside the house, I never saw the Empress enter the Commandant's room. I think she never went inside it, as Yurovsky treated them so badly. If the Empress's rosary was found in the Commandant's room, it was most probably left there and forgotten at the time of packing.

The Emperor usually wore a grey or black jacket with a stand-up collar. He always wore boots and his beard was getting very grey. When the Grand Duchesses walked in the garden they wore summer clothes, chiefly blouses and skirts of various colours.

I cannot remember anything more. My statement has been read to me and it is correct.

(*Signed*) PHILIP PROSKURIAKOV.
(*Signed*) N. SOKOLOV,
Present at the examination.
(*Signed*) YORDANSKY, Public Prosecutor.

Appendix

THE MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION

No. 1. Nicholas II, Alexandrovich, Emperor of Russia, eldest son of the Emperor Alexander III, born in Gachino (near Petersburg) on May 6 (19), 1867. Ascended to the throne on October 20, 1894. Married Princess Alice of Hesse on November 14, 1894. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was forty-nine years of age.

No. 2. Empress Alexandra (Princess Alice) Feodorovna, the wife of the Emperor Nicholas II, born Princess Alexandra of Hesse on May 25, 1872. At the outbreak of the Revolution she was forty-four years of age.

No. 3. The Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaievna, the Emperor's oldest daughter, born on November 3, 1895.

No. 4. The Grand Duchess Tatiana Nikolaievna, the Emperor's second daughter, born on May 29, 1897.

No. 5. The Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaievna, the Emperor's third daughter, born June 14, 1899.

No. 6. The Grand Duchess Anastasia Nikolaievna, the Emperor's youngest daughter, born on June 5, 1901.

No. 7. The Grand Duke Alexis Nikolaievich, the Emperor's only son and heir to the crown, born July 30, 1904.

No. 8. The Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich, the Emperor's brother, who was considered the heir to the throne before the birth of Alexis Nikolaievich. Born November 22, 1872.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE DOCUMENTS

1917

March (2) 15. The Emperor Nicholas II signed the act of abdication, assigned the throne to the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich.

March (3) 16. The Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich refused the succession before the decision of the Constituent Assembly had been arrived at.

March (4) 17. Arrival of the deposed Emperor at General Headquarters.

March (7) 20. General Kornilov, fulfilling the order of the Council of Ministers, arrested the Empress in the palace of Tsarskoe-Selo.

March (8) 21. Arrest of the Emperor by a Commissar of the Provisional Government.

March (9) 22. Arrival of the Emperor at Tsarskoe-Selo.

(*July* 31) *August* 13. Departure of the Imperial Family for Tobolsk, according to the orders of the Provisional Government, under the supervision of members of the Petrograd Soviet.

August (6) 19. Arrival of the Tsar and the Imperial Family at Tobolsk. A few nights were spent on board the steamer, before they were taken to the Governor's house.

(*December* 29) *January* 11, 1918. Uprising of soldiers in Tobolsk on account of the officiating priest reading the prayer for the prolongation of the days of the Imperial Family.

1918

February (12) 25. Arrival of an order from Moscow reducing the allowances of the Imperial Family to a soldier's ration. The commencement of a life of privation.

(*March* 30) *April* 12. Arrival of an order from Moscow to increase the severity of the supervision of the Imperial Family.

April (13) 26. Departure of the Emperor, the Empress and the Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaievna to Ekaterinburg. The other daughters and the Tsarevich remained in Tobolsk.

April (17) 30. Arrival of the Emperor and the persons who accompanied him at Ekaterinburg. Interned in Ipatiev's house. A search of the Emperor's belongings.

(*April* 18) *May* 1. Dismissal of all persons attached to the Imperial Family with the exception of the physician.

May (7) 20. The Tsarevich and Grand Duchesses left Tobolsk for Ekaterinburg.

May (10) 23. Arrival of the Tsarevich and Grand Duchesses at Ekaterinburg.

July (4) 17. The last day of life of the Imperial Family, and the last walk in the garden. That night they were murdered and the bodies searched and removed to the woods.

EXPLANATION OF RUSSIAN NAMES MENTIONED IN THE DEPOSITIONS

KRESTY. A jail in Petrograd where political prisoners were confined.

C. E. C. Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Workmen, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. The most important institution in the Soviet Republic.

CHREZVYCHAIKA. An Extraordinary Committee of Inquiry—an institution of secret political police of the Soviet Republic, which exists in every district town. Through this Institution, according to the scheme of the Bolsheviks, the reign of terror is carried out.

SISSERT'S MINING WORKS. These are fifty versts from Ekaterinburg, and produce cast-iron, iron, marble and gold.

MOTOVILIKHA WORKS. These are situated on the River Kama, three miles from Perm. From thence came a large production of war material.

TOBOLSK. A town on the right bank of the River Irtysh, near the mouth of the River Tobol; it was formerly a very important town, but after the trans-Siberian railroad was constructed, it lost its importance as it was too far from the railroad.

ZNAMENSKY—THE IKON OF THE HOLY VIRGIN. A very ancient holy image given to the Tsar Alexis Michailovich (the second Tsar of the Romanov Dynasty) by the patriarch of Antioch. In honour of this image the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna built a church in Tsarskoe-Selo.

VERKH-ISSETSK IRON WORKS. These are situated about half a mile from Ekaterinburg.

THE DOCUMENT FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE URAL SOVIET ACKNOWLEDGING THE ARRIVAL OF THE EMPEROR AT EKATERINBURG

THE WORKMEN AND PEASANTS'
GOVERNMENT
OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC
OF SOVIETS

Ural District Soviet
of the Workmen,
Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies

Presidio

EKATERINBURG, *April* 30, 1918.

On the 30th of April, 1918, I, the undersigned, Chairman of the Ural District Soviet of Workmen's, Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies, Alexander Georgevich Beloborodov, received from the Commissar of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Vasily

Vasilievich Yakovlev, the following persons transferred from the town of Tobolsk: (1) The former Tsar, Nicholas Alexandrovich Romanov; (2) former Tsaritsa, Alexandra Feodorovna Romanova; (3) former Grand Duchess—Maria Nikolaievna Romanova—all of them to be kept under guard in the Town of Ekaterinburg.

(*Signed*) A. BELOBORODOV.
Member of District Executive Committee,
(*Signed*) D. DIDKOVSKY.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF NAMES

AKSIUTA, Captain. In command of the First Rifle Regiment at Tsarskoe-Selo; he commanded the detachment of the guards in Tobolsk.

APRAKSIN, Count. At the outbreak of the Revolution Count Apraksin was attached to the household of the Empress, and was in charge of her private affairs.

AVDEIEV, Alexander. Was formerly a locksmith, and afterwards Commissar at Ekaterinburg from May till June, 1918.

BENCKENDORFF, Count. He was Grand Marshal of the Imperial Court.

BELOBORODOV, Alexander. The Chairman of the Ural Provincial Soviet of the Workmen and Soldiers' Deputies. Upon orders given through him the Imperial Family was assassinated.

BOTKIN, Eugene Sergeievich. A physician. Dr. Botkin stayed with the Imperial Family from the moment of their arrest until the time of their murder. He was shot with the Imperial Family.

BUXHOEVDEN, Baroness, Sophie. A personal maid-of-honour to the Empress, who accompanied her to Tobolsk.

CHEMODUROV, Terenty Ivanovich. The Emperor's valet. He arrived with the Imperial Family at Tobolsk and stayed with the Emperor until the Imperial Family was removed to Ekaterinburg. He died shortly afterwards.

CHKHEIDZE. A member of the Duma and one of the leaders of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen Deputies during the first months of the Revolution.

DEHN, Julia, Madame. The wife of the first officer on the Emperor's yacht, *Standart*. Madame Dehn was an intimate friend of the Empress.

DEMIDOVA, Anna. A favourite maid of the Empress. She stayed with the Empress at Tsarskoe-Selo, Tobolsk and Ekaterinburg, and she was shot with the Imperial Family.

DEREVENKO, Vladimir Nikolaievich. A physician who stayed with the Imperial Family in Tobolsk.

DMITRIEV. A special Commissar, sent to Tobolsk by the Omsk Soviet.

DOLGORUKY, Alexander Vasilievitch, Prince. Marshal of the Imperial Court, who stayed with the Imperial Family in Tobolsk.

DOMODZIANZ, Ensign. Of Armenian origin; he was chosen by the Tsarskoe-Selo Soviet to assist Colonel Kobylinsky.

DUTZMAN, Commissar to the Imperial Family. He was sent from Omsk by the Siberian Soviet.

ERZBERG, Elizabeth. The Grand Duchesses' maid. She was parted from the Imperial Family on the way to Ekaterinburg.

GIBBES, Sidney. An English teacher to the Grand Duchesses and the Tsarevich. He joined the Imperial Family in Tobolsk and stayed with them until their arrival in Ekaterinburg.

GILLARD. A French teacher to the Grand Duchesses and the Tsarevich. He stayed with the Imperial Family in Tobolsk and accompanied the Tsarevich to Ekaterinburg, where he was dismissed from the service of the Imperial Family.

HARITONOV, Ivan. Chef to the Imperial Family. He was shot with the Imperial Family.

HENDRYKOVA, Anastasia Vasilievna, Countess. A personal maid-of-honour to the Empress, who came with the Empress to Tobolsk. Shot at Perm.

HITROVO, Margaret. Maid-of-honour to the Grand Duchesses. She was arrested at Tobolsk.

HLYNOV. A Tobolsk priest who replaced the priest Vasiliev.

HOHRIAKOV. Chairman of the Tobolsk Soviet. He became Commissar to the Imperial Family after the resignation of Yakovlev.

KERENSKY, Alexander Feodorovich. Minister of Justice, and Prime Minister of the Provisional Government.

KOBYLINSKY, Eugene Stefanovich, Colonel. He was appointed Commandant of the Garrison at Tsarskoe-Selo, and was Commandant of the Palace later. He escorted the Imperial Family to Tobolsk, and was in command of the guards until the time when the Imperial Family was removed to Ekaterinburg.

KORNILOV, Lavr Georgievich. A famous Russian general and patriot, and a prominent name in the history of the Russian Revolution. During the first days of the Revolution he was made commanding officer of the forces of the Petrograd Military District. He executed the order of the Provisional Government for the arrest of the Imperial Family.

KOROVICHENKO, Paul, Colonel. He was made Commandant of the Tsarskoe-Selo Palace after Kotsebue.

KOTSEBUE. Captain of Uhlans, Commandant of the Tsarskoe-Selo Palace. He was dismissed and succeeded by Korovichenko.

KUZMIN, Ensign. He was in command of the military forces of the Petrograd District after Kornilov and Polovtzov.

LVOV, George Evgenevich. He was Prime Minister of the Provisional Government during the first three months of the Revolution, was imprisoned in Ekaterinburg at the time of the Imperial Family's imprisonment in Ipatiev's house.

MAKAROV. An engineer, who was attached to the Imperial Family during their journey to Tobolsk.

MEDVEDEV, Paul. Senior guard of the Imperial Family in Ekaterinburg. He took part in the murder of the Imperial Family.

MOSHKIN, Alexander. Formerly a locksmith, who became assistant to Commissar Avdeiev in Ekaterinburg. He was discharged for drunkenness and theft of the Emperor's belongings.

MRACHKOVSKY, Serge. A military Commissar in the Red Army. He recruited the men who acted as guards of the Imperial Family in Ekaterinburg.

NAGORNY, Clement Gregorievich. A personal attendant of the Tsarevich, who was always in the service of the Imperial Family. When the Imperial Family was removed to Ekaterinburg he was dismissed, put in prison and shot.

NARYSHKINA. A lady-in-waiting to the Empress.

NIKIFOROV, Alexis. Senior Guard of the Imperial Family in Tobolsk.

NIKOLSKY, Alexander, Ensign. A member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. He acted as assistant to Commissar Pankratov in Tobolsk.

NIKULIN. An assistant to Commissar Yurovsky in Ekaterinburg.

PANKRATOV, Vasily Semenovich. Appointed Commissar to the Imperial Family in September, 1917, and was dismissed by the soldiers after the Bolshevist Revolution.

PEREVERZEV, Paul Nikolaievich. A lawyer, who replaced Kerensky as Minister of Justice and resigned on account of trouble with the Petrograd Bolskeviks. He instituted the search of the Emperor's papers at Tsarskoe-Selo.

PIGNATTI. A district Commissar in Tobolsk. He occupied this position from the first days of the Revolution until the time of the downfall of Admiral Kolchak's Government.

POLOVTZOV, General. He replaced General Kornilov as commander of the military forces of the Petrograd District.

PROSKURIAKOV, Philip. A workman who was amongst the guards of the Imperial Family in Ekaterinburg.

RASPUTIN, Gregory. The notorious monk-adventurer. He was killed two months before the Revolution.

RODIONOV. The commander of the Letts detachment in Tobolsk; he escorted the Tsarevich and the Grand Duchesses from Tobolsk to Ekaterinburg.

SCHNEIDER, Katherine. Court reader. She was separated from the Imperial Family in Ekaterinburg.

SEDNEV, Ivan. A footman in the service of the Grand Duchesses.

SVERDLOV. A prominent Bolshevik, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workmen, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

TATISHCHEV, Ilia Leonidovich, Count. General A.D.C. to the Emperor; he stayed with the Imperial Family in Tobolsk and was discharged and shot on their arrival at Ekaterinburg.

TEGLEVA, Alexandra. Nurse to the Tsarevich and the Grand Duchesses. She stayed with the Imperial Family up to the time of their arrival in Ekaterinburg.

TRUPP, Alexis. An attendant in the service of the Imperial Family; he was shot at the same time as the Imperial Family.

TUTELBURG, Mary. Maid to the Empress. She was separated from the Imperial Family on the way to Ekaterinburg.

VASILIEV. A priest of the Blagoveschensky Church in Tobolsk, he officiated at Divine Service in the Governor's house.

VERSHININ. A member of the Duma who accompanied the Imperial Family to Tobolsk as Commissar of the Provisional Government.

VOLKOV, Alexis. A servant who was discharged and re-arrested on the arrival of the Imperial Family at Ekaterinburg.

VYRUBOVA, Anna. A maid-of-honour and a personal friend of the Empress.

YAKIMOV, Anatoly. A workman, who was a senior guard of the Imperial Family in Ekaterinburg.

YAKOVLEV. A Bolshevik Commissar, who replaced Pankratov on April 9 (22), 1918. Came from Moscow to Tobolsk and went back on account of trouble with the Ekaterinburg Bolsheviks, who had seized the persons of the Imperial Family.

YUROVSKY, Commandant. The jailer and the executioner of the Imperial Family.

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